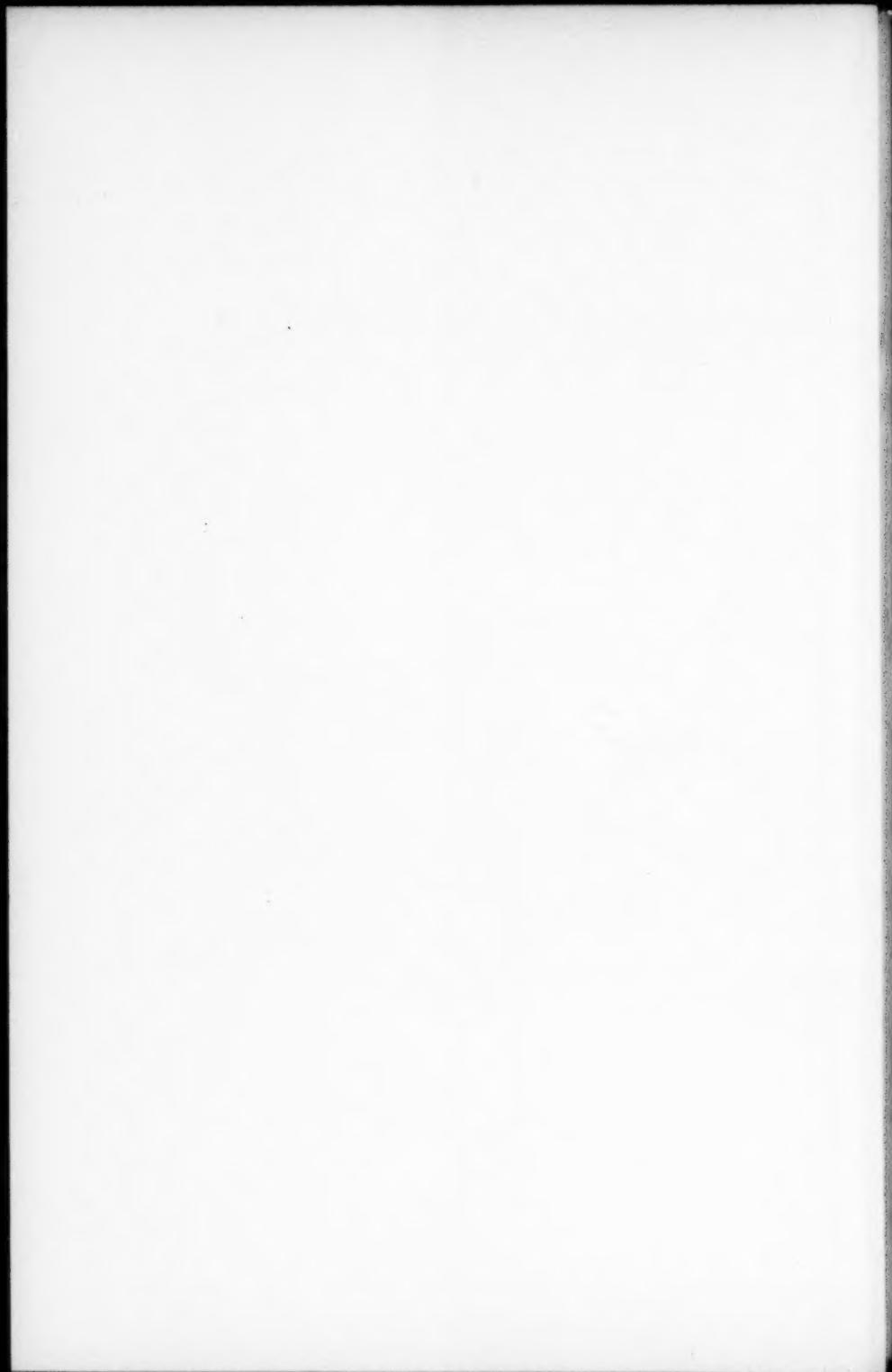
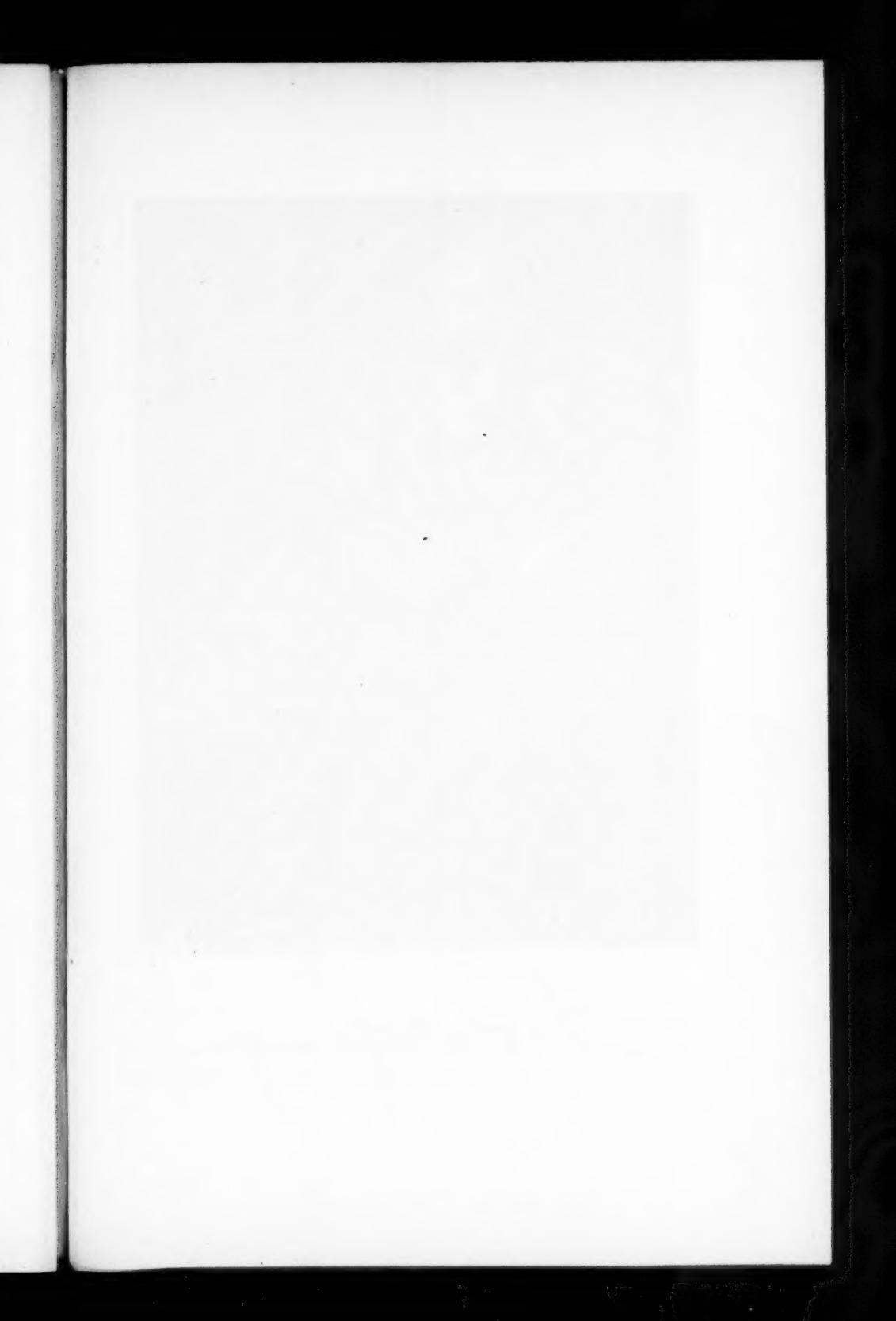
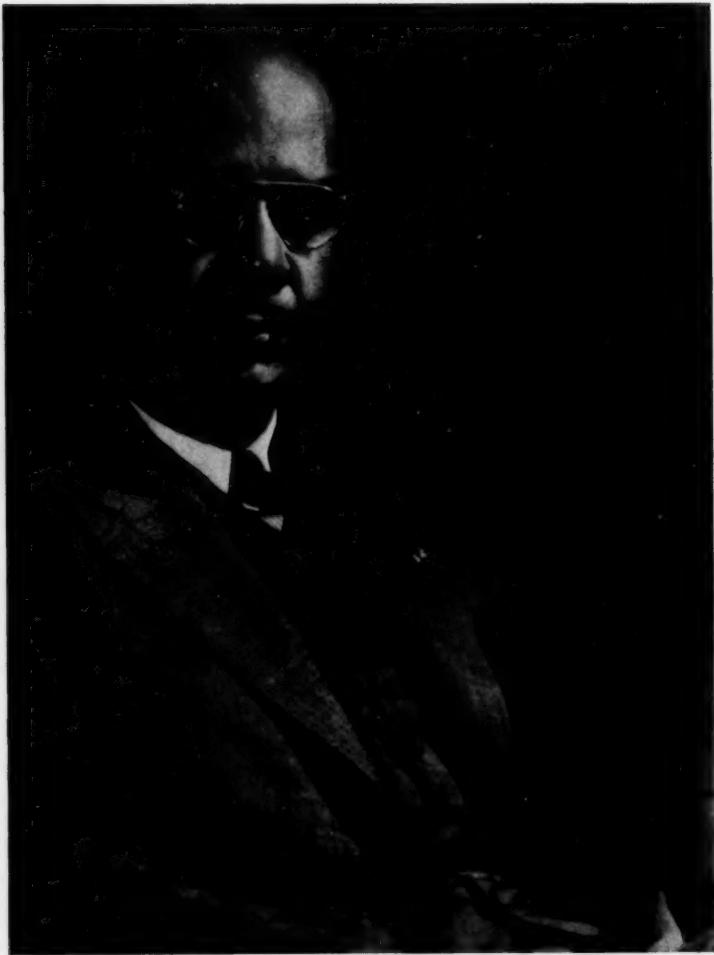


THE SOCIAL WELFARE FORUM, 1952







Lotte Springer

Foreword

THE THEME of the seventy-ninth Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Social Work—"Helping Achieve Democracy's Promise for All People"—reflected the dominant mood and temper of those who participated in that meeting. Audience response is sometimes difficult to assess, but there was no doubt on this occasion that those speakers who focused on social work's role in making democracy a meaningful experience the world over were the ones who were received with the greatest zest and enthusiasm.

The location of the meeting in Chicago for the first time in sixty years in itself gave special significance to the 1952 sessions of the National Conference. A convention city par excellence in terms of location and facilities, Chicago had been repeatedly by-passed by the National Conference in recent years because its hotels would not assure equal accommodations both to Negro and to white Conference members. The fact that a group of Chicago's leading hotels provided such assurances for the 1952 annual meeting gave tangible meaning to the theme of the Conference.

The Editorial Committee faced the usual difficult task of selecting from a large number of papers the twenty-four for which there is room in the Proceedings. All General Sessions papers have been included. The other papers were selected from those presented at meetings arranged by the three sections of the Conference, by the common service committees which presented programs in 1952, and by combined associate groups. Papers presented at meetings arranged by individual associate groups are not eligible for inclusion in the Proceedings.

The criteria used by the Committee in selecting papers were timeliness, pertinence, authenticity, significance for development of the field, and quality of writing. The Conference is an open forum for discussion of issues in the field of social welfare, and selection of a paper does not imply endorsement of its contents by

the Conference or by the Editorial Committee. Omission of a paper, likewise, does not imply the opposite.

This year three special volumes to supplement the main Proceedings volume of the Conference are being issued. One volume will carry selected papers in casework; another, selected papers in social group work and community organization; and a third, selected papers on the aging.

The Editorial Committee for *The Social Welfare Forum, 1952* was composed of Mildred Frank (Washington, D.C.), Leah Parker (New York), and David G. French (New York), with Joe Hoffer, Executive Secretary of the Conference, and Ruth M. Williams, Executive Officer of the Conference, serving ex officio. The volume has been edited by Mrs. Dorothy M. Swart, of Columbia University Press. It is a pleasure to express appreciation on behalf of members of the National Conference for the promptness with which the Proceedings have been issued in this and in recent years, a promptness largely attributable to the efficient planning and processing of the volume by the staff of the Conference and Columbia University Press.

DAVID G. FRENCH,
Chairman, Editorial Committee

New York City
July 14, 1952

The Survey Award

AT THE GENERAL SESSION on Monday night, May 26, 1952, Jerome Kaplan, Group Work Consultant of the Hennepin County (Minnesota) Welfare Board, was presented with the 1952 Survey Award "for imaginative and constructive contribution to social work." The award, a bronze plaque, has been presented annually at the Conference by the *Survey* as a memorial to the late Edward T. Devine, one of the founders of the magazine.

Mr. Kaplan was named the 1952 recipient by a committee under the chairmanship of Channing Tobias, Executive Director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund. The other members of the committee were Sadie T. Mossell Alexander, Russell W. Ballard, W. Miller Barbour, Louis H. Blumenthal, Bradley Buell, Franklin I. Harbach, A. A. Heckman, Maurice B. Hexter, Jane M. Hoey, Lillian J. Johnson, Eduard C. Lindeman, Leonard P. Mayo, Rosemary Morrissey, William J. Norton, Ollie A. Randall, Henry Redkey, Miriam Van Waters, Forrester B. Washington, Mrs. George West, Louise Young, and Benjamin E. Youngdahl.

CITATION OF JEROME KAPLAN

By OLLIE A. RANDALL, Member of the Award Committee, May 26, 1952

JEROME KAPLAN, it is my happy privilege to act on behalf of Survey Associates, the Survey Award Committee of 1952, and the Committee's chairman, Dr. Channing Tobias, in presenting to you the Survey Award for imaginative and constructive contribution to social work. This award was established in 1948 in memory of Edward T. Devine, a leader eminent in the development of so-

cial work as a profession and of education for that profession. Annually a committee of men and women, invited to serve because of their thoughtfulness and experience in the various aspects of this broad field of human endeavor, selects from persons nominated by readers and friends of the *Survey* the candidate whose work in their judgment meets most nearly the general terms of the award.

Each year prior to 1952 the committee has honored a person whose pioneering efforts have already demonstrated their effectiveness in deepening the underlying philosophy of social work, in strengthening its status as a profession, and in giving it direction and in widening the scope of its functioning. The 1952 committee set as a specific criterion for this year that the contribution must have been made within the past five years. Thus the addition of your name as a pioneer, so early in your professional career, to the list of those who have preceded you as recipients, is a signal tribute to you and to your work. The committee takes honest and sincere pride in conferring this award upon you, and in the honor you pay us by accepting it.

It is significant that upon discharge from the United States Navy you did not delay completing your general education, interrupted by your years of service, or entering upon your professional education in social group work in the Middle West. After a short but useful experience in voluntary agency programs, you undertook the very challenging task of relating your training and experience to the public welfare program of Hennepin County, in Minnesota, which within the legislative framework of a governmental agency is charged primarily with the administration of public assistance. Your sensitivity to the individual human and social needs of older people, over and above their economic needs, and your imaginative application of social group work skills in your unremitting effort to involve appropriate public and private agencies in providing recreational and leisure-time programs for them, have stimulated in a very brief space of time, within your own agency, your own community, and elsewhere, a gratifying response in terms of improved understanding of the elderly and of the services they need. Moreover, recognizing that leisure-time programs were sat-

isfying only the immediate and easily apparent symptoms of deeper and more fundamental lacks, you and your colleagues have helped to bring about a much broader and more sympathetic understanding of the situations of elderly people, more effective community organization, and definitely planned action on local and state levels. These results promise to keep older people in your city, county, and state better, busier, and happier throughout life by deterring intentional discrimination against them on the basis of age alone as well as the unintentional discrimination growing out of indifference or ignorance.

Realization of the broad and personal implications of our aging population for society, individuals, and families, and practical co-ordination of public and voluntary effort have consistently been important elements of the approach to your work. But even with these your efforts would have been sterile indeed had you not also been motivated by a dynamic and intelligent compassion for human beings in difficulty, especially for those who by virtue of age have been deprived of the opportunity for one or all of those aspects of life which give savor—work, play, love, and worship. May these goals remain constant for you in the long career which lies before you—as we know you will strive to achieve them for those who come within the sphere of your personal and professional influence.

ACCEPTANCE SPEECH

DELIVERED BY JEROME KAPLAN

AT PRESENTATION OF SURVEY AWARD

MADAM CHAIRMAN, in accepting this Survey Award I feel that I am doing so for all the people who have made the real contribution to the field of social work and human welfare.

The part which I have played in working with people is minute.

The real receivers of this outstanding award are the legions who are opening up a vast new empire of opportunity for older adults. It is the warmth, insight, and pioneering spirit of these numerous organizations and individuals that have turned imagination into concrete reality.

To the Hennepin County Welfare Board of Commissioners, which had the vision to create a social group work consultant role in order to meet older adult needs more effectively; the executive staff of my agency—especially Edward Kienitz and Arnold Gruber; and every social worker in our old age assistance division, the entire social welfare movement in our nation is indebted for their progressive acceptance of fostering and developing a new field of endeavor. John C. Kidneigh, Director of the University of Minnesota School of Social Work, has been farsighted in encouraging this development by a public welfare agency. The many organizations in the Minneapolis area—such as lay interest associations, social service agencies, religious affiliate bodies, educational groups—because of their accomplishments also share in this recognition by the Survey Award Committee. The countless individuals who have given of themselves for the betterment of the senior citizen should look upon this award as a recognition of their efforts.

I suppose my youthful appearance belies the fact I am already past my prime—as a baseball player. To tell the truth, I cannot run around the bases very fast anymore. So, I have shifted to other forms of activity, the same kind of discovery which has motivated many people to retain and bring back the necessary opportunities for older adults to remain contributing members of their community, thereby enriching society and themselves. The cumulative effect has been to keep many older people alert, interested, curious, and constructive—all ingredients in the major goals of human living. The key has been to look upon problems as challenges to be met and resolved.

The eighty-eight-year-old poet laureate of a senior adult club, Sigfried Neu, eloquently sums up the net effect of the vision of the many who are meeting the challenges of aging:

Meat and drink keep body and soul together,
But, carrying on, I have to talk of something better.

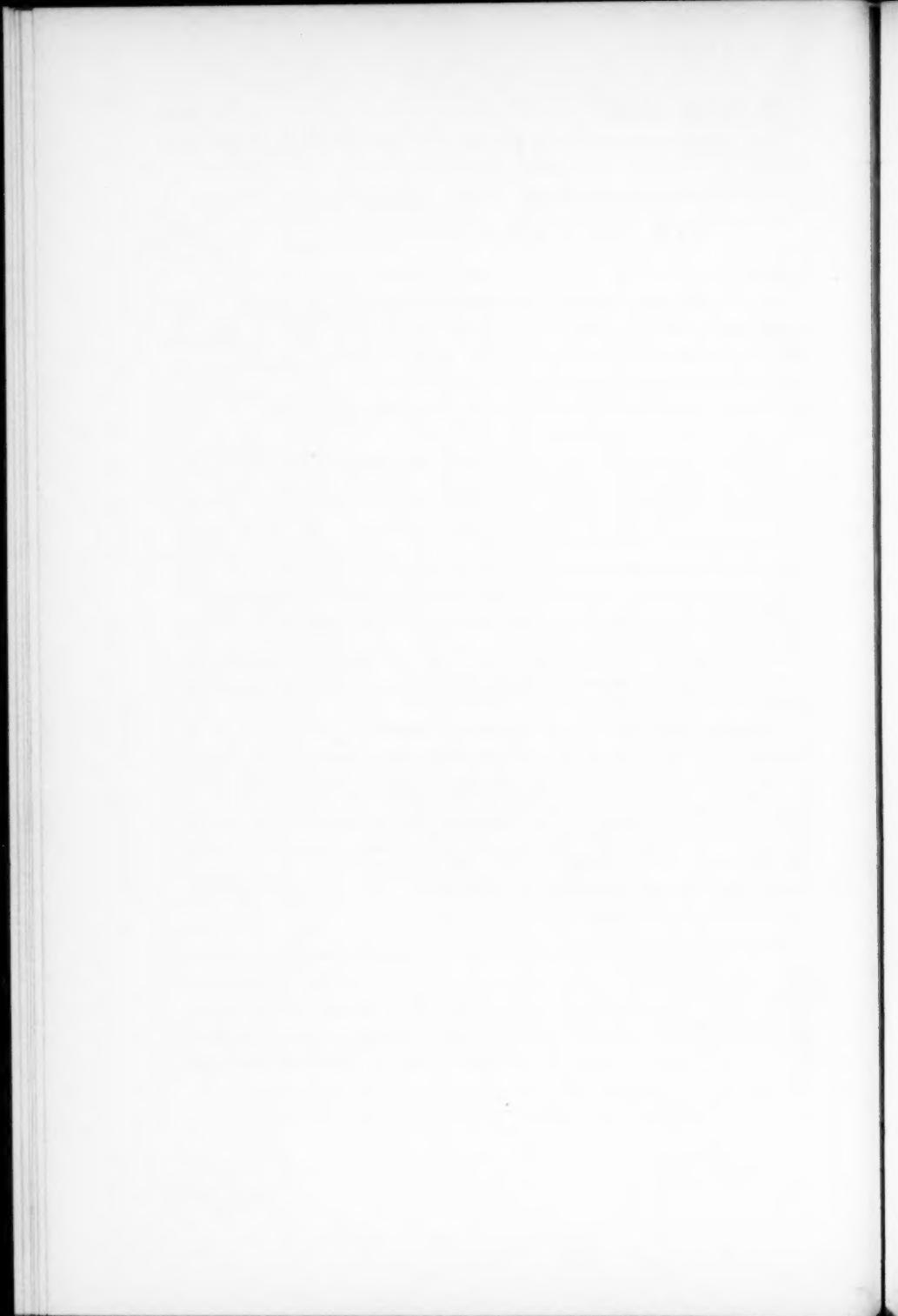
TRIBUTE TO THE SURVEY AND PAUL KELLOGG

AT THE GENERAL SESSION on Monday night, May 26, 1952, Katharine Lenroot, member of the board of Survey Associates and former chief of the United States Children's Bureau, announced the suspension of publication of the *Survey* and paid a tribute to Paul Kellogg, its editor, in the following words:

The *Survey* magazine was founded forty years ago as an independent enterprise, with Paul Kellogg as its editor. For all this period it has been a ground-breaker in the broad field of social welfare. It has collected, presented, and interpreted facts and figures, descriptive material, and records of human need and human achievement. It has been interested in industrial conditions, race relations, economic problems, public health, rural life, and social problems and developments in other lands. An institution, it has been said, is the lengthened shadow of a man. The *Survey* and Paul Kellogg are inseparable in our thoughts, and the two are inseparable from the history of social work and the inspiring story of social pioneering in the last four decades . . .

The working scheme of the *Survey* was a distinctive combination of research and journalism. Research is costly, but rewarding. It cannot be supported by receipts from magazine subscriptions any more than a college or university is supported by tuition fees alone. For forty years, with Paul Kellogg at the helm, the cost of research and education was met by forward-looking men and women the country over, the members of Survey Associates, and by grants from foundations whose directors were aware of the value of the social survey as a means of arriving at understanding.

Miss Lenroot closed by expressing the hope that members of the National Conference will review carefully what the *Survey* has meant to social work and to the welfare of the people of this country, and will seek ways of filling in the great gaps in information and interpretation which its absence from the social work scene will leave.



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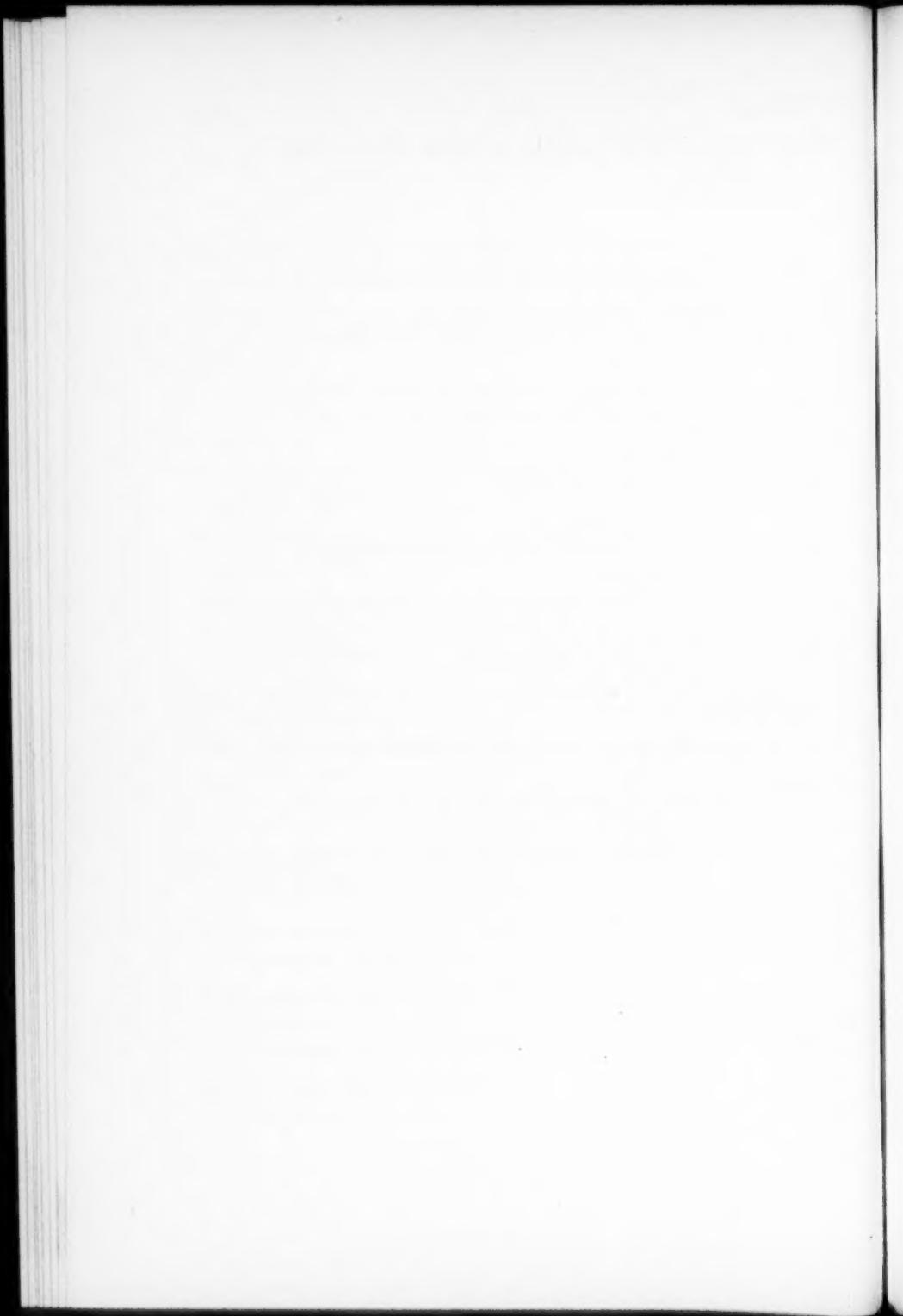
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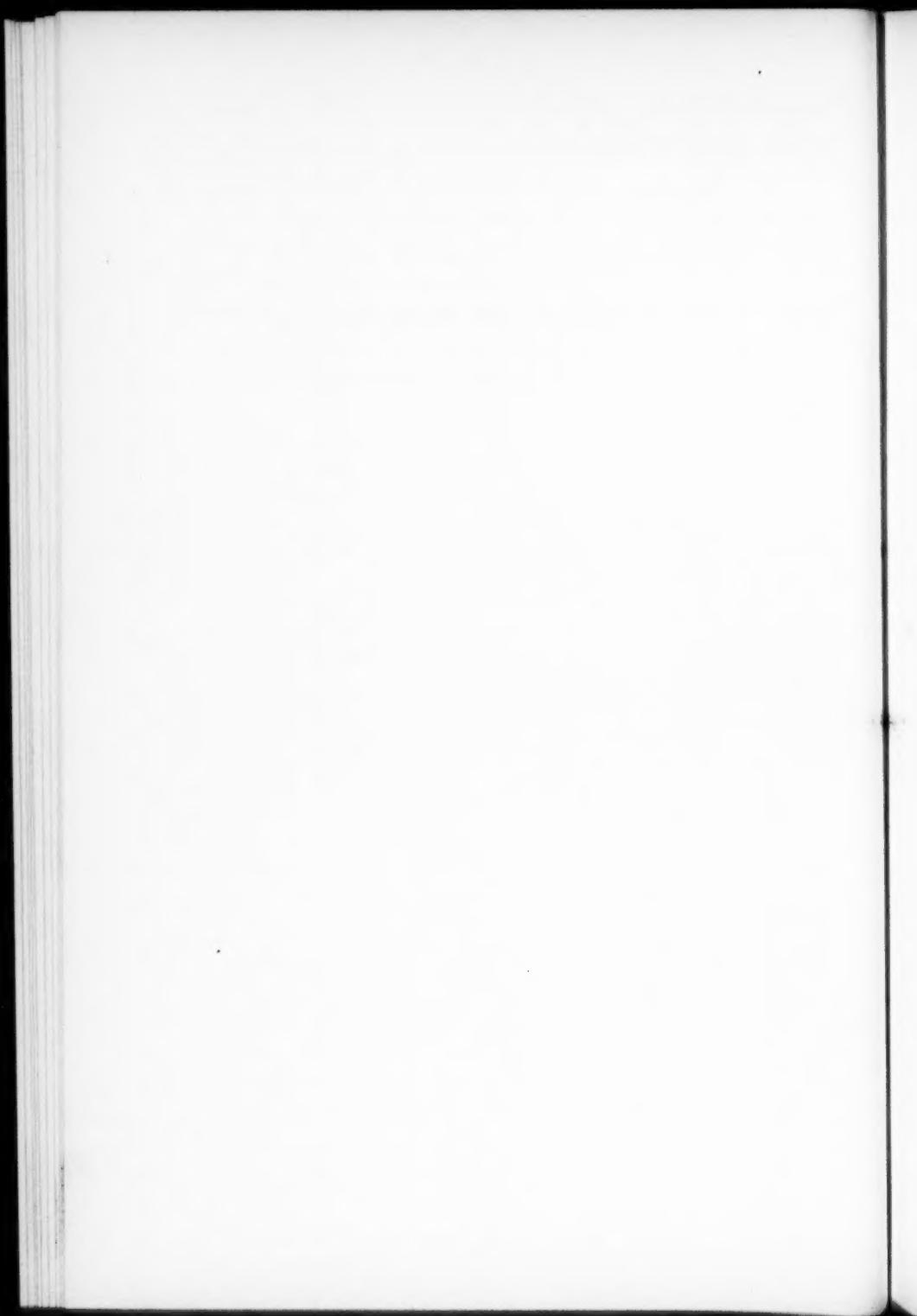


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THE SOCIAL WELFARE FORUM, 1952



Social Work's Response to Democracy's Challenge

By LESTER B. GRANGER

IT HAS BECOME TRADITIONAL for the National Conference of Social Work's Annual Meeting to expect from its President's formal address a message that is profoundly philosophical or freshly informative, according to the special gifts of the incumbent. It is only fair for me to warn at the outset that I shall attempt neither unusual profundity nor scholarly research. This is not only because neither talent in any outstanding measure is a part of my personal equipment, but also because the special need of today is for a quite different message. As far as I can achieve it, this address will consist of a simple restatement of the faith, devotion, and unwavering aims of those who bear direct and primary responsibility for the health and welfare of the American people.

The need for such emphasis is so well known to every member of this Conference that only brief reference to it is required to establish the framework of my address. We are all deeply conscious of the nature of the period currently faced by our nation—that of crisis of an intensity unprecedented in our national history. The crisis is unique not merely because of the fierceness with which hot-and-cold warfare is being carried on between nations under Communist domination and those determined to remain free, and not only because of the physical threat offered to our continued national existence. This is a crisis that is as psychological as it is physical; the threat is from within as well as without our national borders. The possibility of an armed thrust against us by declared enemies is made more serious by our bitter realization of a cunning, deeply entrenched conspiracy carried on by some of our own fellow nationals, a conspiracy that attacks the democratic ideal at the same time that it supports the strategy of our armed foes.

Conference members know only too well what this realization has done to our community life—how frequently reaction has been hysterical rather than coolly intelligent, and how it has thereby served to increase rather than diminish the seriousness of our situation. We are sadly aware of the manner in which this crisis factor affects deeply relationships with people and the practice of social work.

Intensifying this atmosphere of incipient panic, of mass emotional insecurity in an unfamiliar and frightening form, is the widespread economic insecurity that exists in curious contrast to a condition of nearly full employment. For the past two years we have been frantically overhauling our production machinery. With the overhauling half done, we have tried to achieve maximum speed with an engine not fully warmed up. Something has had to give way in the process, and that something is our financial stability. Inflation felt first by families of lowest and fixed income is now finally admitted to be a fact by those very governmental agencies charged with its prevention. Nor is the end of inflation yet in sight. A flaccid attitude by government; unyielding improvised policies by management and labor which have kept the economic situation in constant turmoil; an uneasy fear by even those lucratively employed at present that their tomorrow will be a tragically different story; a tax rate that has already risen higher than could have been dreamed of a dozen years ago and seems still to have no ceiling—these are only a few of the economic conditions and developments casting a black mood on the thinking of the American public.

Emotional depression in the midst of economic inflation—this is the stuff on which rank demagogism feeds, and demagogues have been prompt to arise. They begin their campaigns on issues involving the national security; they make capital of a very real problem of Communist infiltration into our defense effort, and then proceed to smear with the "Communist" brush every personality, cause, or program of which they disapprove, whether or not it has the slightest relationship to the issues which they pretend to discuss. In the more notorious cases they have made ignoble use of Congressional immunity to broadcast libelous charges, carefully declining, meanwhile, to repeat those charges under circumstances where they will

be liable to legal action. Some have called such demagogism by the now familiar word which has become an epithet, "McCarthyism." But this is too slick and easy a way of disposing of the matter, for it is not the character of a single legislator which is the issue. His conduct in Congress is only the accurate reflection of a state of mind among his constituents—at least among those responsible for his election and desirous of returning him to Congress. As long as that state of mind exists to any considerable extent throughout the country, we must expect it to be articulated in the federal and state legislatures, in churches and civic organizations, or in trade unions or professional gatherings.

It is easy to feel an angry disgust, as many of us do, over a baseness of character that can allow such sordid exploitation of the fears of a people. It is easy, also, to express short impatience with those people who allow themselves to be so exploited. It is much more constructive, however, to examine the situation and explore its cause, seek to discover its cure, and then take steps to improve matters. The behavior of a psychotic patient may often seem absurd to a rational, or even an irrational person. But once the nature of the disturbance is understood, absurdity disappears and there remains paramount only the necessity for prompt and thoroughgoing relief.

For instance, if a social scientist twenty years ago had had certain foreknowledge of the social and economic changes that were to take place in this country within two decades, he could have predicted with absolute accuracy the very developments that have come to pass and now disturb us so deeply. This scientific accuracy would have been possible because all of the past twenty years' events have in a world sense been affected by what has gone before and have in turn affected what was to come later. In the late twenties, while the American people were hailing the arrival of a new era of prosperity, we were suddenly crippled by the shattering effect of an unprecedented depression. The blow was felt by our political structure, and the New Deal administration produced revolutionary innovations which completely changed the relationship of the Federal Government and the average citizen. In the midst of these changes, we were plunged from depression into the Second World War. During the cycle of depression and war, more

than twenty million Americans, one seventh of the national population, shifted residence by moving to cities, states, and regions other than where they had been born and reared.

During that same period we saw the cracking and the labored tentative reforming of American business and industry. The very geographical location of industry centers shifted radically—from the North southward, from the East and Midwest toward the West Coast. During the process, we have seen prairie and mountain valley hamlets become giant industrial centers, while formerly thriving industrial communities became dessicated as their employment sources shrank or moved elsewhere. During the Second World War we made the ultimate effort to win victory—and have witnessed the fruits of our victory being snatched away from us as we reached for them. Now, seven years after the whistles blew for joy of peace, we know grimly that there is no peace—and may be none in our time.

After this tragic roll call of despair and disillusionment, dashed hopes and frustrated plans, uncertainty prolonged into anxiety—after all this, why should we not expect a considerable part of the American public to react exactly as it has done? If an individual were subjected to such pressures, we should expect such a reaction. But the trouble is that we too often reserve our special understanding for individuals. We forget that people are individuals too; that the United States of America does not consist of forty-eight states and assorted districts and territories, but of approximately one hundred and fifty million individuals. They are individuals who can stand up gloriously to their responsibilities or cower shamefully away from them, according to their inspiration and leadership, according to their conviction of need and opportunity.

If we regard our current crisis period from this viewpoint, we shall understand that its most impressive feature is not the extent to which fear runs riot, but the degree to which it is repressed. The grovelings and whinings of many of us are shameful to witness, but the calm courage of others is more impressive and is reassuring and inspiring. The greatest danger to democracy—democracy as distinguished from freedom—lies in its handling by those who have access to it and are sometimes charged with its defense. Those who

really understand democracy's concept and accept its requirements constitute a distressingly small proportion of the American people. It was a lack of understanding by the great majority during the Second World War which prompted such statements as that we "fought for the right to have a malted milk with the favorite girl at the favorite drugstore," or that we defended "hot dogs at a baseball game, a picnic at our favorite beach, a stroll home from church, and the comfortable, lazy 'American way of life' as we have known it."

This craving for personal convenience and comfort illustrates the smugly fatuous attitude displayed by too many of us who are comfortably fixed, who are sure that a democratic way of life has already been achieved, and that there is, therefore, no reason for bestirring ourselves further toward its attainment. Contrasted against this group, but equally dangerous, are those whose grinding experiences with poverty, social frustration, racial discrimination, or religious persecution have instilled in them a bitter disenchantment with the "American way of life." Theirs is a dangerous disillusionment; for it has left them defeated, cynical regarding the worth-whileness of effort and the chances of successfully attaining their firm place in a true, exemplary democracy. These enemies of democracy between them compose a possible majority of the American people—the smug and fatuous, and the cynical and defeated. It is their handling that tarnishes the beauty of democracy and weakens its fabric; for how can they treasure what they have never understood, why should they defend that which they have never learned to treasure?

There are also those who are neither fatuous nor defeated, though they are frequently smug and are unvaryingly cynical. These are the shrewd, farsighted, determined enemies of democracy who, whether they align themselves politically on the right or the left, know very clearly what it is that they fear and seek to destroy. They have understood far better than many of us who oppose them what effect upon great masses of people can be expected from constant upheaval and prolonged insecurity. They have waited for this period as their day of harvest, and if left unopposed they can reap a full one.

Who will oppose them? Ourselves, of course. Ourselves and the millions of our fellow Americans who stand with us when once they understand the urgent importance of what we believe and attempt, and what with their help we shall certainly accomplish. For we are among that too small proportion of Americans who understand the difference between mere liberty, freedom, and democracy. We know that liberty may be only release from constraint, and that such release can be as dangerous to the child, the half-wit, or the maniac who is left uncontrolled as to the society in which he is let loose. Liberty has no constructive meaning unless it has a purpose.

Freedom we esteem as a nobler concept. But freedom can be that of the half wild and still cruel. It can be only the freedom of the eagle or tiger that feeds upon weaker prey. There are those who have confused such a freedom with "rugged individualism" and who scorn the weak as natural prey for the strong.

But we who stand together in this Conference and in similar associations of good faith and earnest purpose throughout the country understand democracy to be a free life with a social purpose, a life that combines opportunity with mutual responsibility and expresses kindness and cooperation, neighborliness and helpfulness. To some, such a definition will have a sentimental sound. Such an interpretation of social responsibility is frequently derided, scornfully referred to as the philosophy of "do-gooders." And some of us shrink away from any such designation and hastily explain with apologetic smiles that we are not "do-gooders" at all, we can really be pretty hard-boiled. We are not sentimentalists, but professionals.

By such hasty and uncourageous disavowals we play into the hand of those who deride us. We should accept the term "do-gooder" with prideful acknowledgment of the fact that we *do* try to do good jobs for our communities that will satisfy our personal consciences as well as the requirements of modern, well-ordered community life. And this is modern social work. This, as I understand it, is the reason for the annual coming together of the National Conference of Social Work.

We seek in these annual sessions, first of all, to re-form and

strengthen our belief in the central importance and purpose of the human race. We believe that mankind's purpose is its own constant improvement until God's eternal plan is achieved. We do not consider that mankind consists of masses of people, but rather of the sum total of individuals; we hold that every individual is important in giving character and purpose to that sum total. It is our conviction that the purpose and justification of social living is to give the individual protection, opportunity for growth, full chance for self-expression and for his fullest contribution to the group which bears him. We firmly hold that herein is the difference between the free and the controlled life, the democratic and the regimented society, in the place and consideration given to the individual.

Here is the germ of our democratic philosophy—this conviction as to the supreme importance of the human individual, the dignity of his personality, and the sacredness of his soul. Thus it is natural that those who neither understand nor accept the democratic concept will not sympathetically accept the ideals or approve the professional standards of social work practice. Such opponents are our natural enemies, and derisive attacks are to be expected from them.

"Social work coddling!" they snort, when they consider our work with the unfortunate and helpless, the sick and twisted and thwarted, the leaderless and stumbling, the fearful and the hating.

"Social planners!" they cry fearfully, when we speak of better community living, better organized community services. They never realize that all communities are being constantly planned for better or worse, either by those who love their community and work in its best interests, or by those who view it solely as a source of profit and exploit it to that end. But when those who have their community's best interests at heart fail to plan and plan well, that community begins to die a little.

But this is beyond the scope of concern of the scoffers who are as ignorant of current and recent history as they are devoid of democratic impulses. They neither know nor care how the form of community living has changed within the past half century, how the pressures of modern social living have increased. They ignore

the rising casualty rate resulting from such pressures, and when this is urged upon public attention these ignorant ones mutter angrily of "loss of initiative," of "weak sisters." They blame those whom society has injured for being too weak to hold their own in a tough winner-take-all struggle.

With such as these we have no common ground for exchanging information or argument, for they are atavistic remnants of a past that should never have been. They are the spiritual progeny of robber barons; they will never accept the concept of the good life, the cooperative community as we envision it. We can never talk their language and we can only continue to fight them with every resource at our disposal.

But the sad truth is that such opposition as this is not the chief problem encountered by social work during this period of prolonged crisis. There is an opposition which can more accurately be described as lethargy. It may be born of lazy indifference or honest misunderstanding, but the plain truth is that after nearly a century of organized effort to promote community welfare the American public still does not grasp the full concept of community welfare, nor understand what it is that agencies and practitioners are really trying to do. If we are frank with ourselves, we must accept some of the blame for this lack of understanding. Too many of us have not kept pace with the swift march of history that has changed the rural-based American society into an urban industrialized system. Too few of us, for instance, failed during the Rooseveltian New Deal to anticipate the social changes that would inevitably follow in the wake of drastic political experimentation. Too many of us sat entranced in the spectator seats, so intent upon cheering or booing the action in the political arena that we failed to get ready in time to play our own role. And that role demanded assistance to people in understanding and coping with the gravely complicated problems passed on to them by the New Deal.

It makes no difference whether we were for or against the New Deal; the fact remains that the past twenty years have drastically altered the relationship between the average citizen and his government, his employer, and his neighbor. And too often none of these—neither the citizen, his government, his employer, nor his

neighbor—understands even now what changes have taken place and how they should be recognized.

A completely new concept of management-labor relationships has been codified in law and in its basic aspects accepted by both parties. But an efficient and humane working plan still remains to be devised. A national system of public assistance has grown up like Topsy, with similar uncertainty on the part of the public about its antecedents. There has been a parallel creation of a program of social insurance with little public understanding of its purpose, methods, or weaknesses still to be corrected. To tell the truth, these developments were in the main handed to the American people by benignly paternalistic political leaders, spurred on by a vociferously expert liberal wing of public opinion. Whether the developments were wisely conceived is long past argument. The point is that the people accepted, rather than demanded, many of these social reforms, and their understanding has not yet fully caught up with their acceptance.

Meanwhile, we in social work have been so occupied with learning our own way about this new confusing social scene that we have seldom been able to offer guidance and reassurance to our even more bewildered public. We have developed standards of professional practice, it is true, but frequently these standards have had slight relationship to professional resources and have been considered, therefore, as having little validity. And, often, as we have defined our standards of practice, we have seen our practitioners' resources swept away by careless, brutish action of half-informed legislators and incompetent administrators; and our public, understanding neither our professional standards nor the results of political vandalism, has stood by and failed to support us in our, and the public's, moment of need.

A perfect case in point is the manner in which Congress amended its Revenue Act of 1951 to permit states to allow access to relief records, including the names of clients. In taking this action, Congress reversed itself and its own efforts to protect the public against political misuse of social security and public assistance lists. Congress had originally inserted in the public assistance laws the clause insuring "confidentiality of records" because of political scandals

during the 1938 elections. It would probably be embarrassing if we knew how small a proportion of social workers throughout the country were more than dimly aware of these cases of political misuse of public assistance and of the action by Congress. Consequently, we have considered the issue of confidentiality in terms of professional standards and ethics rather than in terms of protecting defenseless relief clients from their exploitative use by politicians. If we had been able to get this point across to our public and to hammer it home insistently, should we not have received a much more informed and effective support when the issue came up again at the last session of Congress?

Was this mainly a matter of professional standards and ethics? Must not professional ethics bear a direct relationship to the experience and aspirations of those with whom we work? Are they not otherwise only a subject of esoteric mumbling among ourselves?

The issue of confidentiality is just this simple. People on relief are still human individuals. Public assistance records are not a mere set of statistics; they are people who have a need for assistance in the same way that they need the services of a physician when they are ill. Their resort to such assistance does not affect their right to privacy. People of limited financial means have the same craving for, and right to, unassailed dignity as those of comfortable means.

Of course there are cheats on public assistance lists, just as there are cheats in all other areas of our national life, in the higher- as well as in the lower-income brackets. The rich may cheat on their income tax reports; the very poor may cheat on relief. In either case, when we discover dishonesty we should move dispassionately and efficiently to weed it out. But one does not weed a garden by pulling up everything in sight.

The fact is that pseudo statesmen in political office, backed by headline hunters, have promoted the idea that "chiselers on relief are stealing us blind," and have come up with this curious notion that publicity turned on all recipients will drive the chiselers off relief rolls. There was no effort to discover how serious the problem

of chiseling actually was or whether the device of relief publicity would actually serve its announced purpose.

Many of the members of this Conference were disturbed over the emphasis placed by the Governor of Illinois on this matter of publicity for recipients of public assistance. The Governor is widely esteemed as an extraordinarily intelligent and able public official. It is not possible to question either his humanitarian motives or his repeatedly demonstrated integrity. Yet, the Governor takes the position that the experience of the state of Illinois indicates that the fears of social workers are exaggerated, that deserving clients are not harmed, nor are really eligible individuals deterred from seeking relief by the threat of publicity. He declares that such figures as have been compiled indicate that "relief stealing" has been reduced.

No one in this Conference would question the Governor's motive in making the statement. In fact, he need not have even touched upon this controversial issue. It was a tribute to his courage and integrity that he did give us his findings in such frank fashion. It would be fine for the state of politics generally if more public figures were as frank in setting forth their beliefs. For once a clear difference of opinion is established on an honest basis, we are able to bring our facts to bear in an effort to change what we consider to be an unsound official position.

At best, the Governor must base his opinion on reports and statistics which come to him from others; and the conclusions of reports are influenced by the opinions of those who make them, while statistics have a way of changing from year to year, and even from month to month. We, on the other hand, base our opinions on our sure and experienced knowledge of the people we serve, and our continuing contact with them. Therefore, with the utmost affection for Governor Stevenson's personality and with unreserved respect for his integrity, we stand our ground firmly and say, "You're wrong, brother, you're wrong—and we have the facts to prove it!"

Competent and unbiased authorities such as welfare directors in states where publicity has already been adopted have assured

us that our fears expressed to Congress have proven well grounded. There has been no discouragement, no perceptible diminishing of "chiseling," but instead there has been determent through embarrassment of really eligible people from seeking relief.

"Well, fine!" some of the detractors of social work method might say. "The fewer people who seek relief, the better for taxpayers—that's what we've been saying. Relief costs are too high."

But *have* the costs been too high? Is it better for the taxpayers if those who really need financial assistance are barred from seeking it by nineteenth-century rules that assail their self-respect and privacy? Public assistance was not devised as a favor from taxpayer to needy client. It is one of the means which American society has had to use to protect itself from its own immaturity. Public assistance is financially cheaper than the alternative costs of problems which arise when it is withheld. And in a humane sense, public assistance is as unavoidable as was the duty of the Good Samaritan. None of us could "pass to the other side" and still remain content with our decency.

But the American public has never really understood this, not even those who have been recipients of public assistance. Some of our citizens still look upon the whole program as an ingenious political trick to secure votes from the hard-pressed. They criticize a continuing relief program during the current period of high employment. They point to a 1951 expenditure of almost two-and-a-half billion dollars for relief by federal, state, and local governments. They moan that public assistance has impaired individual initiative and encouraged dependency. A publication of the United States Chamber of Commerce, *Business Action*, for December 21, 1951, trumpets the charge that "three hundred welfare plans take a third of all government-taxed dollars." Under these "plans" are included railroad retirement and workmen's compensation, old age and survivors insurance, and aid to dependent children, pensions for veterans, federal assistance to public education, slum clearance, Indian welfare, school lunch programs, and institutional care for the aged, deaf, and handicapped. Of the twenty-five billion dollars which the Chamber reports as being spent on "welfare plans," public assistance receives two and one-half billions, but by

the device of seeming to flog "extravagance" in public assistance, the way is opened for shrewd blows to be dealt at the very heart of sound community planning—of human citizenship.

Barron's weekly of May 5, 1952, carries an article about "the social workers—theirs is a dream world of socialistic planning." An unknown writer is given an opportunity to assemble more ancient canards and put them on display as an indictment not of social work practice, but of the principle of a well-rounded social welfare program.

These and many other types of articles ranging from the intelligently reasoning to the cheaply scurrilous appear in newspapers and magazines with large circulations, and are reprinted for even wider distribution as part of the deliberate, well-calculated program to discredit social welfare by attacking social workers and to hamper the agencies by weakening public confidence in the whole concept embraced by social work.

Meanwhile, our own spokesmen have not been silent regarding this issue. They have pointed out that we are in midstream of a vast social improvement program and are today paying double costs involving both an established relief system and an emerging program of social insurance. As the latter strengthens, the costs of the former will decrease. We are paying at present for our failure to have instituted social insurance earlier.

Critics also overlook the fact that our population is larger than ever before—by more than ten millions in the past ten years—and that the greatest increases are in the very age brackets, over sixty-five and under eighteen, where greatest dependency costs are apt to be concentrated. In New York City, the aged population increased 46 percent between 1940 and 1950, as compared with a general population increase of only 5.9 percent.

But it will take more than solid fact to withstand the attacks constantly being made by the ill informed and the irresponsible. Sensational untruths receive more headlines than calmly reasoned corrections; lurid tales of "mink coats" and "relief chiselers" will capture one hundred times the newspaper space given to statements of fact offered in correction. A candidate for public office is unlikely to devote his speeches to the reduction of public assistance

costs by pointing out that the percentage of the population dependent upon various forms of relief dropped between 1940 and 1951 from 11.5 to 3.8 percent. Or that in the same period the proportion of the national income spent on public aid dropped from 3.4 cents per dollar to 1.1 cent. Our great newspaper chains have not, in connection with the costs of social welfare, played up the fact that in 1951, 20 percent of our national population in the top-income group received 47 percent of our total income, while the bottom 20 percent got only 3 percent of it.

The logic of these figures, if properly publicized and appreciated, can do much to counteract the shattering assaults made against the principle of a sound community welfare program. But on the battlefield who listens to logic? And, in one sense, the field of community welfare comprises a field of battle in which constructive and destructive forces are locked in determined conflict.

The very intensity of the struggle should encourage rather than discourage us. For such powerful forces would not be arrayed against social welfare if we had not made such tremendous gains during the past quarter century toward cooperative, harmonious community living. Our best hope of other steady gains in the future depends upon our ability to inform the ill informed, to stimulate the lethargic into realization of what we are seeking to do, thereby enabling us to recognize and deal with the real, avowed enemies of our community interest. It is possible, if social work will work to such an end, to make this a contest between the decent and the indecent interests in American life. When the contest is so defined and the antagonists so identified, the battle for decency will be practically won; for never let us forget this: most people have an instinctive desire to be decent.

For instance, the whole practice of social work has benefited by the prompt and foresighted action which produced the United Community Defense Services at the beginning of the national defense program. Here is a problem which the public can readily understand, for in many cases the Federal Government has been the precipitant of social and economic change on a grand scale in the establishment of new defense industries. We can rightly ask the question with assurance of public backing: Can our government

afford to sponsor the erection in a formerly placid suburban or rural area of a mammoth defense industry, employing fifteen or twenty thousand workers, and refuse to accept responsibility for the social problems that will immediately follow the building program? What about the five or six thousand families that will move in looking for homes? What about the unsavory characters that hang like camp followers around new military and industrial concentrations, looking for easy pickings among civilian workers or men in uniform? What about health conditions in the small community which suddenly, almost overnight, receives an overload of three or four times its normal population? Does the Federal Government have responsibility for such problems? Can men and women living in a disordered community, beset by mounting disease and crime, concerned about inadequate educational facilities for their children, desperately seeking decent housing and ending up by paying "through the nose" for substandard accommodations—can such men and women measure up to the demands of an all-out defense production program?

These are questions which citizens have a right, a responsibility, to ask their government. And their logical spokesmen are to be found in the ranks of organized social work.

But there is another issue underlying this whole subject of community welfare in a period of crisis which is far more important than that of mere efficiency in defense production or community government. The issue involves the faith of the individual citizen himself, the conviction that he holds regarding the worthwhileness of sacrifices he is called upon to make—the faith that he maintains in the democratic ideal in defense of which our American nation professes to stand.

I have made this statement again and again, and I repeat it here: Man will fight for the things that he wants; he will die for the things that he needs; but he will fight and suffer and endure past the point where death seems important, only for the things in which he devoutly, unreservedly believes. It is this fact of human nature which social work must find a way to interpret to a too indifferent American people. There is a close relationship between that unshakable faith and the state of community welfare which

too often escapes the careless and unperceptive. It is not that people will sacrifice for public assistance or for aid to dependent children, or for a living provision under old age and survivors insurance. These are only the material aspects of a welfare program. What is the heart of community inspiration, the core of concern held by individuals whether consciously or unconsciously, is the feeling of wanting to belong, of experiencing human togetherness, the yearning to be respected and the desire to be useful. The kind of community that satisfies this instinctive and basic human urge is the kind of community that *will* be defended, spiritually as well as physically, and can never be defeated by armed strength, no matter how powerfully exerted.

Here, then, is the challenge to social work—to understand these truths with our hearts as well as with our intellects, and to translate them in terms that our public will understand. Somehow, through the very intensity of our own conviction we can, we must, find a way to inspire those with whom we work with a similar intensity. This is what I meant two years ago, when I reminded this Conference that we are not "handmaidens," but *partners* in a joint community enterprise. But to exert our partnership effectively, we, ourselves, must believe in it, believe in it with all of our hearts, our minds, and with the innermost nature of our souls. The cause which we serve has a right to expect this of us—this and nothing less.

Social Welfare in a Changing World

By ADLAI E. STEVENSON

MY COLLEAGUES TELL ME, and my own experience confirms, that trained welfare workers are rather scarce these days. Our experience in the state welfare services has been, time and again, that after we succeeded in training a worker to fill a key assignment some enterprising agency executive came along with more dollars and a persuasive sales talk—and we lost the worker. One case, at least, was that of an attractive young woman employee who wanted to get closer to Hollywood. And since a recent survey shows that California has one of the highest levels of salaries for social workers, we are at somewhat of a disadvantage. Better salaries plus the proximity of Hollywood constitute a potent competitive combination against us!

We may not be able to match the glamorous attractions of California and we may not always pay the highest salaries, but we do have an established tradition of social consciousness dating back almost to the beginning of Illinois's statehood in 1818. We speak with pride of the social services of Illinois. More than a century ago Dorothea Lynde Dix aroused the governor and the legislature over the tragic plight of the mentally ill, and in 1847 there was established in Jacksonville what was then called a "hospital for the insane." A year later, in 1848, Samuel Bacon came out of the East and established in the same city a school for blind children. This promptly became a state-supported school. Both of these institutions have helped to pioneer in new fields of service to the mentally ill and the sightless.

The roster of leaders in the early history of the National Conference of Social Work included our pioneers in modern social work in the state of Illinois. The Rev. Frederick Wines, secretary of the Illinois Board of Charities, was active in a New York conference which organized the Conference of Public Charities. This was in

1874. Dr. Wines and Andrew E. Elmore, of Wisconsin, developed the idea of such an organization in 1872 when together they visited the institutions in their two states.

It was not until 1878 that this conference of public officials opened wide its doors to others than members of state boards. The meeting was held in Cincinnati that year. George S. Robinson, a lawyer and chairman of the Illinois State Board of Charities, presented a report to the Conference. I was much intrigued to read in it: "The number of inmates in our institutions on April 1, 1878 was 2,640—an increase of 400 over the past year. The annual cost averages about \$200 for each inmate."

He spoke also of a new trend in institutional construction in Illinois. He said: "The plans adopted contemplate an extension of the institution by a system of cottages or detached wards. This is a distinct advance in institution construction." He pointed out that the legislature had appropriated the munificent sum of \$30,000 for this enterprise, consisting of five cottages. Fred K. Hoehler, director of our State Department of Public Welfare, informs me that these same five buildings would today cost close to three million dollars, with all the modern equipment presently required. That is a striking illustration, I think, of one of the pressing practical problems that confronts us in public welfare work today—the staggering sums of money needed to carry on even the traditional services, let alone any new ones.

In 1879 the Conference met in Chicago for the first time. The then governor of Illinois, Shelby M. Cullom, told the members:

We punish crime, and by its punishment gain much for the peace and security of society in the deterrent influence of punishment; but too large a percentage of those discharged from our penal institutions go directly back to vicious associations and criminal practices. Too many convicts are serving a second and third term in our penitentiaries to warrant the claim that they are, to all, places of penitence and reform.

Governor Cullom's words of more than eighty years ago still could be applied, with more than a little truth, today. Of course we have made substantial progress in penal administration and in parole methods, but the basic problems of prevention of crime and dependency—the fundamental problem of finding permanent solu-

tions rather than temporary cures—is exactly the same today as it was then.

Consider briefly the history of philanthropic enterprise in America.

In the beginning all philanthropy was private. The money poured out by the first families of philanthropy went with warm emotional intent into the organization of new movements, the creation of new agencies, the development and maintenance of new services for the underprivileged. Visiting nursing agencies, hospitals and clinics, antituberculosis societies, settlements, charitable societies, and character-building agencies were sponsored and heavily financed by humanitarian-minded people of substantial wealth.

These were the pioneering days of philanthropic leadership. Those days ended about thirty years ago. In the past quarter century the governmental systems of public health, public welfare, and public assistance have come into being to provide a floor of basic services supported by everyone through public funds. During this period we recognized that social welfare involved public responsibility.

At the same time, there developed modern community-wide campaign methods to broaden systematically the base of private philanthropy—to reach into everybody's pockets for the support of the voluntary charitable agencies. Measured in money costs, the expansion of both public and of private services in these fields in the past three decades has been almost astronomical. In broad terms no one can doubt that the result is a positive contribution to a better way of American life.

But the great systems of public and private service are now exhibiting a serious weakness. Their very size forces their leaders to concentrate upon the maintenance of activities to which they are traditionally committed. Ambitions for expansion express themselves in promoting customary patterns, rather than in new creative directions, or in a search for solutions of basic causes of dependency. Increasing competition for the tax dollar, and the voluntary dollar, compels greater attention to promotion and to public relations. The preoccupation of leadership tends to be with the support of activities rather than with preventing the necessity for

them; with digging trenches for a holding action instead of marshaling resources for community-wide attack.

The real heart of the matter is that few of our major public systems or national private movements now devote any substantial portion of their leadership or money to creative, objective, and systematic thought and research into methods of reducing the area of welfare needs. This is the functional weakness which, in my opinion, offers a new kind of challenge to the modern philanthropist—individual or corporate. We do not need new agencies—in fact, many people believe we have too many already. Neither are we in need of investment of large sums of money in new types of service. What is needed is the investment of relatively small amounts of money in strategic locations that will result in the improvement and the better coordination of the services that we now have.

It is not surprising that public welfare services, as we now know them, have grown so fast. We must remember that public welfare as we now know it was born in the depression-cursed thirties when literally hundreds of thousands of citizens were unemployed and without the basic necessities of life.

Public welfare, in that emergency, was born practically full grown. It had to be established in a hurry and on a big scale, for public welfare became overnight, and still is, big business. We have only to remember that at one time during the depression nearly 25 percent of the families in this country were receiving some kind of governmental aid to realize why public welfare became a vital public obligation. There are still more than five million cases of public assistance in this country at an annual cost of about \$2,250,000,000.

Therefore, this new business, manned by many people with too little past experience, has been preoccupied mainly with matters of administrative methods and control, with problems of budget and finance, and with the uncertainties of its relationship to the public. Most of the people within the public welfare movement have had no time to look up from their work and think about the nature of their tasks and the community setting in which they operate.

Opportunity for that kind of thinking has now become a critical necessity. Some people wonder why, after more than ten years of full employment, we have as many people as we do still on relief and at such great cost. Administrators of public aid can cite various reasons for this in general terms, but we ourselves do not know nearly as much as we would like to know about why they are there, and why more of these dependents cannot be made self-sustaining.

And so I say it is time that we gave more attention to dependency as a problem to be solved, instead of looking upon it primarily as a condition which affords good reason for giving people the money they must have to maintain a decent living.

I am glad to note that the need for this greater concentration on causes and solutions rather than methods is gaining some recognition. Government and some private agencies are beginning to see that more money and more building are not the ultimate answers to our needs. We are doing some of this research here in Illinois, as for example in our new hospital at Galesburg where we are studying the problems of the aging, and in our new research center for treatment of very young mentally ill at Peoria.

It is really not my intention to pose as an expert in a field in which the members of the National Conference of Social Work have had much broader experience than I. But as one who comes into frequent contact with these problems you face every day, I feel that I am somewhat familiar with your basic difficulties and I hope you will permit me to offer another bit of gratuitous advice.

I do not need to tell you that every year reams of paper and millions of words are used to criticize the operations of public and private welfare services. The criticism is far more vigorous and frequent than the praise. Usually this criticism deals with frauds or alleged extravagance in public assistance. Publicity usually is given to an isolated case or cases of fraud or administrative failure, and the result is to create the public impression that fraud is rampant. People are given the idea that because there are occasional cases of chiseling the whole program is mismanaged.

That is a dangerous condition. The only effective way to deal with it is through stronger administration and case supervision.

Careful, meticulous management of the distribution of public funds, and of those funds contributed by the voluntary agencies, is absolutely essential to the development of the public confidence that is so important.

We have tried hard in Illinois to eliminate the chiselers from the public assistance rolls by establishing a separate investigation branch in the Illinois Public Aid Commission. We have made gratifying strides in eliminating evils and abuses.

In that connection it may be interesting to mention what Illinois's experience has been in the operation of the state law enacted in 1951 eliminating secrecy in public assistance rolls. That law became effective November 1951. Each month since then the Illinois Public Aid Commission has made available lists of recipients in county welfare departments in all the 102 counties of the state. These lists contain names and amounts paid in monthly allowances under the old age pension, aid to dependent children, blind and disability insurance, and general relief.

Opposition to opening the rolls to the public had been based chiefly on the contention that recipients would be humiliated and that the rolls would be utilized for wrongful purposes. The Commission has reported publicly in recent weeks that experience has proved both of these fears to be groundless, at least thus far. The law in Illinois requires the person requesting the rolls to sign his name and state the purpose of his request. By actual count, only 192 persons asked to inspect the rolls in all the 102 counties between November 2, 1951, and April 1, 1952, or an average of less than two per county in five months. Eighty-three of these requests came in the first month, mostly from newspapers checking on rumors that large numbers of eligibles were on the relief rolls. They found the rumors were without basis in fact, and newspaper requests have been negligible since the first lists were made available.

Other requests came from private welfare agencies, from school officials, from aid recipients who wanted to see if they were listed for the sums they actually were receiving, and so forth. The requests indicated a proper motive in every instance, according to the Commission. Its report added that while the number of requests to ex-

amine the lists had been small the elimination of secrecy actually had been beneficial in two important respects: first, it has helped to scotch irresponsible rumors that relief rolls were loaded with persons undeserving of public assistance; and second, it has deterred some persons of likely or certain ineligibility from trying to get on the relief or assistance rolls. I suspect it is entirely too soon to speak with confidence that the fears expressed about this legislation are baseless, but certainly thus far our Illinois experience has apparently been less harmful than beneficial.

Public information in the whole welfare field seems to me to be one of our greatest deficiencies. Like so much that relates to government and public administration, orderly, well-managed welfare work attracts little attention. Only mismanagement, scandal, and fraud seem to be newsworthy. But I am one of those who believe that "there is no truth in the news that there is no news in the truth." So I would urge you to look for opportunities for frequent and full interpretation of the work you are doing, and the methods you are applying in your respective communities to these same ends. Generally, I believe the newspapers will be receptive and helpful if they are convinced that they are being given the full story, and not what we conveniently call "propaganda." I suggest that you enlist their help in intelligent efforts to improve your public relations, in increased public understanding of the tremendous administrative tasks many of you face from day to day.

I would suggest further that your agencies should look for opportunities to utilize also the radio and television and other media of mass communication to present your story—in general, to take the people into your confidence. I think these methods will prove to be much more effective than expensive brochures or forbidding statistical reports which few people read, especially the people you are trying to reach. In fact, I am convinced that these elaborate and expensive publications sometimes add to confusion and misunderstanding rather than dispel it.

One further word. I should like to make an observation on another phase of your work that no doubt has occurred to many of you with increasing emphasis in the last few years. That is the relationship between our activities in the whole field of public wel-

fare, and our nation's new responsibilities of leadership in world affairs.

We live in an age of strange contradictions. The first half of this century has produced many moral, social, and scientific advances. At the same time, it has produced a great depression and two world wars, and even now we may be perilously close to a third. The same age that has seen science produce every sort of material comfort and convenience has also seen atomic energy harnessed, not to constructive purposes, but largely to those of mass destruction.

In the light of the grim realities of these days two facts stand out with clarity: the obvious need for strong and progressive welfare services available to citizens who really need them, and the possibility that there may be less money to carry on these activities. Every citizen today, every business, every interest, knows that we are engaged in a mighty and prolonged struggle, and that this is and must be the paramount concern of all of us. A struggle of this sort involves a vast preparedness program, the cost of which could easily do permanent damage to a free economy. We are going to have to tighten our belts. It is better that we do this deliberately and voluntarily than in the haste of necessity and involuntarily.

At the same time, in this hour of moral trial, every lost soul that could have been salvaged is a blot upon our record and a liability as well. Today we perceive again our need for robust manpower, men and women with the physical and emotional stamina to meet the rigors of military service and to perform all the tasks of an expanded defense program. Just as tanks and planes cannot be built overnight, neither can we build overnight mentally and physically healthy men and women.

How can we reconcile these two necessities? In the light of both of them I think we must pause and reexamine the total welfare picture and ask ourselves: Where are we going? If we must tighten our belts and put first things first in the welfare field, as I think we must, we had best do it intelligently with a long-range, over-all plan, not by improvisation and patchwork.

As the most prosperous democratic nation on earth we have far

more to contribute to other nations than our dollars, and the best contribution we can make is through example. For so long youthful and ambitious, we have reached maturity. The world needs our leadership, not only in the military sense and the ideological sense, but also in human relations.

What we have done in developing insurance, public assistance, and institutional care are examples. We borrowed some of these ideas from older nations. We have developed and improved upon many of them. Our financial strength has permitted us to raise standards and to train better professional leadership. In the medical sciences and technology we have added to the strength of man and his comfort. We have also developed better relations among men, with an understanding of the right of government and voluntary social agencies to succor and help those who are ill or unfortunate. We are learning better all the time to respect the rights of individuals and the dignity of every human being.

Some of these things are not understood abroad because too frequently those who represent us abroad are in the business of trade or politics and are not well schooled in the advances we have made in human relations, or they fail to practice those things which we have learned in the years of our growth and struggle. What we must do is further to improve our human relations at home to advance the welfare of all men, and by our example to show the rest of the world that our system has a spiritual and human content which drives men forward to new successes and achievements for the benefit of a whole society. The movies we export do not always convey that idea.

It is futile to preach this doctrine abroad unless each of us feels it deeply at home. On this conviction we can then add to our contributions of dollars, commodities, and weapons a new note of understanding for people everywhere—an understanding that is basic to social work and that is certain to be an important element in the establishment of world peace which will never be won and secured by weapons alone.

With these goals in mind and with my firm wish for your success, I bid you dedicate your thought and your energies to strengthening your work, and the principles that guide you so that we may in

turn assist others and increase the effectiveness of our relations with nations beyond the seas.

Because the work you are doing is so important it must be done constantly better. I hope the National Conference sessions are helpful to all of you in achieving the better methods, the better co-ordination of efforts, the better emphasis, and above all the better understanding on the part of the people and yourselves as to the responsibilities and limitations of the welfare services, public and private.

What We Believe

By BENJAMIN E. YOUNGDAHL

AT THE 1940 NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK, Grace Coyle said: "Social workers on the whole often have been unwilling to admit that they had values—that they could use the word 'good,' for example. They hesitate to define the norms which necessarily are guiding treatment. . . . We need in these days to face our responsibility for a positive—though not moralistic—position."

We do have values and we are constantly guided in our work and in our relationships by value judgments. When the American Association of Social Workers sets up a code of ethics, it is expressing in words values which we support and to which we adhere. A person or a group may be guided by certain basic values or ideals or assumptions not easily susceptible of validation. It is probably not possible for any group to exist as a group without the acceptance of some values. This does not mean that we are moralistic in the negative use of that word; it does not mean that we help people in trouble with the approach of "you be good or we shall not help you"; it does not mean that we are going to impose a behavior pattern on our clients. We believe in self-determination, in confidentiality, in a child's rights to certain protections and services, in democracy. These are values, and we could add them up in our own profession by the score.

I suspect that one reason in recent years for our apparent reluctance to admit we have values is our desire to be objective and nonmoralistic in the treatment of persons needing help. This is an entirely good objective, but one may wonder whether the pendulum has swung so far as to make us sometimes overlook the fact that at the basis of much of what we do are values that we accept and that have become a part of our tradition.

This reluctance on our part is due perhaps also to some of the

epithets frequently hurled at us. Take the term "do-gooders," for example. We shy away from it as if we actually think we are not doing good. Since when has it become bad to do good? We gladly count ourselves among the forces that are making an effort to be helpful to people; among those who are trying to lighten the burden of people who are unable to take care of themselves; among those who are trying to prevent misery. We gladly join hands with those who would give children a better opportunity to grow and to develop normally and to become citizens of the next generation with the strength to fight the forces of evil in the world, including war itself.

Of course we are do-gooders and we do not consider it "panty-waist."

Fundamentally and basically, we believe in the worth, welfare, and well-being of the individual. Whether he be hungry, sick in body or mind, anxious, or in trouble, we have an urge to help him. While we have a keen interest in society as a whole, this interest is focused on what is good for the individuals who compose society. Regardless of what programs we espouse or administer, the end result in our minds is always the person, supreme, divine.

Those who are less able to take care of themselves for one reason or another become our special concern. We therefore tend to concentrate our efforts on the last, the lost, and the least. The destiny of the world today appears to be directly related to the segment of the world's population which is hungry.

Because we believe the individual has real value, we reject the jungle theory of the survival of the fittest and believe that every individual is worth helping, not only for what the help does to him, but also for the support and protection it gives to society. We reject it in part for the same reason that in the 1930s we refused to permit many of our large banking institutions to die, our farming operations to wither, our industry to collapse. We reject it because it violates some of the basic principles which underlie the democracy which we espouse and the Judaeo-Christian tradition which constitutes an important part of our culture. In fact, the principles of democracy, the principles of the Judaeo-Christian tradition, and the principles of social work have consistency inasmuch as all of

them put the emphasis on the individual and recognize him and his welfare as the end goal of all legitimate effort. We have tried harder in this effort, and perhaps more successfully, than other agencies and institutions in our culture; and because we have, we get into more trouble. We have implicit faith in democracy and in democratic institutions, but we are convinced that democracy will survive only if it is built soundly and consistently and steadily. And that means only if it recognizes individual human worth. Unless it does that, it is not democracy.

We believe that the importance of the individual transcends national geographical boundaries. We have an interest in our own babies, for example, but we are not unmindful of babies elsewhere in the world; we are interested in our own high though uneven standard of living, but we are not unmindful of undernourishment, plagues, and suffering elsewhere; we have a genuinely supporting interest in our own democratic institutions, but we are not unmindful of the need to help other groups throughout the world to learn about our processes, techniques, and procedures—not with any thought of imposing on them, but only to give them an opportunity to learn about a political system which recognizes the worth and dignity of the individual.

We believe in a socioeconomic framework that puts the emphasis on the individual—not the kind that refuses to see the relationship between the houses people live in and their ability to live effectively and productively, not the kind that produces contaminated goods for human consumption, not the kind where the sole and only motivation is to make money regardless of what happens to people. The kind of enterprise which has our support is one in which people have an opportunity to make the greatest use of their potentialities, one in which the group as a whole makes every reasonable effort to promote individual opportunity and to protect and help those who need it and who are unable to do so for themselves.

The kind of enterprise which appeals to us is one in which the person is the focus of all efforts. Though we may be making and selling goods, we give service to people; though we may be enacting laws, the good which individuals derive from them is the

measuring stick of their effectiveness; though we may be engaged in professional service of one kind or another, it is helpfulness to the individual that gauges the success of the effort. To the extent that society focuses its eyes on people as individual human beings with feelings and needs, and focuses on the effort to develop the greatest potentialities of individuals, to that extent will society develop strength and virility, happiness and maturity. Society is as strong as the individuals who are its members. Society pulls itself by its bootstraps by enacting measures that are helpful to individuals.

We hear much talk about revolutions these days, but revolutions occur only where conditions with respect to individuals are oppressive. Revolutions are not possible where people individually are happy.

Governor Adlai E. Stevenson, in an excellent article in the April, 1952, issue of *Foreign Affairs* states: "The strength of America is rooted in a great principle—individuals are an end not a means. That is the American idea. Schools, colleges, labor unions, political parties, and the government of the United States exist for American men and women; never the other way around."

This brings us to the issue of Communism.

Our basic philosophy is completely incongruent with, in fact the antithesis of, the principles espoused and the methods and procedures used by the Communists in this country and in Russia. We believe in free speech and free information and they in an iron curtain; we believe that the whole emphasis is on the individual, and they consider him a pawn; we believe in negotiation and compromise to settle conflicts, whereas they adhere to force and treachery as their weapons; we refuse to support an unholy means to arrive at a given end because we know that the means often determine the end. We believe in frankness, they in deceit and subversion. To them the means are unimportant. With its emphasis on the individual, social work cannot be practiced in a framework of Communism.

Even in the noblest of professions, including social work, Communists will on occasion penetrate the protective walls and operate with their usual secret methods and tactics. We must be

sensitive to this situation and be aware of these methods. Confusion, despair, and apathy are the things these people feed on, and their tactics are geared to those ends. They are not interested in serving people, but only in grinding their own ax.

Now it is not an easy position in which we are placed, for the Communists frequently espouse causes in which we are very much interested and to which we give our solid support. The espousal, of course, is often hypocritical and therefore frequently confusing. I speak of such things as civil liberties, efforts to get decent housing for people, and other advances in social welfare programs. It is not impossible that the avowed interest of Communists in race relations, for example, is only a means to an entirely different end. We must beware that we do not run away from these problems and from our advocacy of proposals to take care of them merely because Communists support them. We must not let the advent of McCarthyism in this country compel us to reject things we really stand for or deny the espousal of programs that we really favor, on which democracy depends. We shall continue to fight the dangerous trend in this country to deny a person his rights and even his livelihood because he stands for something, because he wants some changes, because he dissents from current practice.

We do not propose to let the Communists lure us from the leadership in promoting necessary social reforms. But such a position takes courage and conviction. A typical Communist is willing to sacrifice for his cause, and he boasts his faith upon the street corners. Then there are certain fascist groups using totalitarian methods who are everywhere crying their convictions with symbols and neatly packaged slogans, salutes, and uniforms. While we must beware of totalitarian methods, we must maintain our faith with resoluteness and be willing even to sacrifice personally to uphold our convictions. There are many in our profession who are now doing that.

It is not easy to be a non-Communist liberal today, but I dare say that history will record this particular period as one in which there were a few brave and courageous souls and groups who dared to speak out against Communism and all its authoritarian aspects, and who at the same time dared to favor reforms and services which

on occasion the Communists, for their ulterior purposes, claimed to support. It is necessary not only to speak out against Communists and their methods but also to speak out loudly against anti-Communist groups who use the same Communist methods. And so I repeat what I said in a 1949 Conference address: A pox on both their houses.

While we are opposed to the Communists and the fascists, we are also opposed to groups on another part of the scale who try to undermine democracy.

The onslaught on the public assistance programs during the last several years smacks of an effort of some people to find a scapegoat for the ills of our time. In many ways the public assistance groups are some of the most defenseless in our population. For the most part, they are unorganized and find it difficult to express their feelings. It is quite likely that an occasional fraud may be found in public assistance, but the degree of it is probably no greater, if as great, as that found in business or in other aspects of American life. And it would be even less if some of our state legislators would recognize the need for adequate administrative appropriations. (A recent report of the Bureau of Public Assistance shows that work loads have been increasing. The average number of cases per visitor is almost 250 for old age assistance and over 100 for aid to dependent children.)

We are glad that some of these issues in public welfare are coming out into the open. Basic social policies require continuous free and open public discussion since that is the only way to get public understanding, which is the sound basis of acceptance in a democracy. We in social work are at fault in so far as we have been slow to focus public attention on important issues. On the issue of confidentiality, materials are now being produced by supporters and critics so that the public can understand what is at stake and can make intelligent decisions. Sides are being formed, and it is important to note the common characteristics of each. We trust that all the information pro and con will be made available to all citizens.

We know that all the answers are not in or all the solutions at

hand. It is for that reason that we have been pressing for more research, more facts, more information. We have constantly favored research in the social sciences and in human relations and we are willing to follow the facts wherever they may lead. But we have been rebuffed in our efforts to get substantial appropriations for research (the United States Children's Bureau, for example, has urged research proposals for years), and it is interesting to note that many of those who are criticizing some of the current policies and practices are also opposed to any real effort to get at the facts.

Let us take a simple illustration. Some critics allege that current policies in the Aid to Dependent Children program are responsible for illegitimacy. From our experience and from the facts available to us, it appears that this is not so. Rather it seems to us that illegitimacy is a result of a complex of causes inherent in our social milieu and that a plan for providing food and care for children, some of whom are illegitimate, has no important direct relationship to the incidence of illegitimacy. However, we stand ready to participate in any scientific studies of juvenile or adult delinquency that give promise of more precise answers to some of these vexing problems. It is possible that deprivation per se is one of the many possible causes of illegitimacy, but even that has not yet been subjected to study in any conclusive way.

In this area a scientist can be as irresponsible as laymen. When the author of a genetics textbook was asked recently for evidence to support his statement that ADC causes illegitimacy, he responded by saying that he had been told of twelve cases. This is the world's smallest sample on which an important generalization has been based. Why is it that people who are so skilled in the use of the scientific method in the physical and biological sciences find such difficulty in using that same method in human relations?

Let it be said with vigor that we in social work have no brief for the means test. We should much prefer programs that are relatively more preventive in nature: adequate wages and working conditions; social insurances; educational, recreational, and health opportunities without relation to ability to purchase the service; family allowance systems; consumer education and protection;

guaranteed annual wage plans; inflation controls; and similar programs that involve income maintenance and the availability of necessary services on a rational and preplanned basis. But until the American people are willing to institute these more basic measures (we have made a beginning), and as long as we have programs based on a means test, we shall continue to insist with all the power at our command that the lives of people be protected and that they not be denied the normal privileges of living and participation in our democracy. To us, the feelings of an individual are an important factor in the making and in the application of public social policy.

We affirm also our wish to publicize these programs and to give all possible information concerning numbers of recipients, amounts of grants, cost by programs and by geographic divisions, averages, etc. One of our difficulties has been that the press has not been willing to give us the space to tell the story of these public expenditures. We frown on secrecy in public affairs but we refuse to damage the lives of one and a half million children receiving aid to dependent children by "exposing" them to their childhood companions. Programs that are designed to produce conditions for normal and healthy growth cannot fulfill their purpose by the introduction of a "shame" concept.

Many of the very people who espouse this proposal to publish names of recipients of public assistance are the very ones who claim at the same time that the programs are making people dependent. Granting economic subsistence per se to dependent people does not make them dependent; but inadequate policies and methods of administration may do so. One way of doing it is to invade their privacy and thus handicap their rehabilitation.

Of course, there are occasional abuses that creep into our vast public welfare programs, but certainly the intelligent way to attack them is not to introduce negative policies that bring harm and injury to individual recipients, but rather to make an effort to improve the administration. This can be done for the most part only if more personnel resources are made available. Witch hunts cannot replace administration.

First then, and very importantly, we believe in the integrity of

the individual personality and we oppose policies, procedures, and programs that are inconsistent therewith.

Need is widespread and no respecter of persons. People have handicapping conditions due to external and internal causes. Bread-winners frequently die prematurely. People get old and are forced to retire without having had the possibility of saving for their economic needs. Children are frequently left alone without the care of adults. Under the strains of modern life people become sick physically and mentally. Other individuals or families or communities in varying circumstances are unable to lift themselves by their bootstraps when they are confronted with certain conditions. Assuming then that we are not to let them die off, who is to give them the help and the service which they need and which services can and frequently do place them in a position to take care of themselves?

Wherever it can be done by relatives and friends and neighbors without hurt or damage to the parties concerned, it is all to the good. We believe in the method. But there are times when such help is not possible and sometimes not desirable. Private social agencies under varying auspices, but all representing their community, have been organized with the function of stepping into the breach and giving appropriate services. These agencies are serving an extremely useful function in our society and frequently give valuable aid in pointing the direction toward which public social services should aim. While voluntary giving is on a fairly large scale and certainly should be encouraged, it will not or cannot take care of certain large-scale mass needs or programs, whether of a preventive or treatment nature. Hence, the resources of government must be used if the basic needs of people are to be serviced, and if democracy is to function in both rural and urban settings.

As the need has increased, the states and the Federal Government have assumed some of the responsibilities, the latter under the so-called "general welfare" clause of the Constitution. As Justice Benjamin Cardozo stated in the famous majority opinion of the Supreme Court on February 24, 1937 (the opinion which declared the old age insurance section of the Social Security Act con-

stitutional): "Needs that were narrow or parochial a century ago, are now intertwined with the well being of the nation. . . . only a power that is national can serve the interests of all."¹

Whether a particular function or service should be performed by the local, the state, or the Federal Government depends logically on which unit can do it most effectively. If a state is unable or unwilling to perform a necessary service of whatever kind, then we believe the Federal Government has a responsibility to do so. This is true whether we are thinking about the supervision of safety measures in our coal mines, contributions to school lunch programs, or financial assistance to dependent children and the aged.

There are those who cry "centralization" and who use the word as their sole argument or weapon against any participation by the Federal Government in welfare programs. If we mean what we say when we talk about equal educational opportunities, if we are honest in our assumption under the Social Security Act that a child born in one state should have about the same opportunities as a child born in another state, then it would follow that the Federal Government must help finance these programs. Even a cursory study of per capita incomes on a state-by-state basis shows that some states simply must receive federal assistance in order to equalize opportunities. Therein lies the simple necessity of centralized financing.

The profession does not share a widespread confusion on the issue of states' rights. After all, while we are citizens of a local community and of a commonwealth, we are also citizens of the National Government and the extent to which we fulfill all our citizen responsibilities measures the effectiveness of democracy itself. We need not fear authoritarianism if as individual citizens we remain alert. Moreover, authoritarianism can be just as authoritative on a local level as on a national level. In each case, the effective protection is the individual citizen and his interest and participation in the affairs of government.

As the Federal Government rightfully has assumed an increasing amount of responsibility for the financing and, to a lesser extent, for the administration of welfare services, we have opposition

¹ 301 U.S. 619 (1937).

to it frequently phrased in slogans and words with negative connotations. Critics attempt to set up a "scarecrow of symbolism."

We have no reason to run away from the term "welfare state." *Fortune*, in its February, 1952, issue, uses the interesting term "service state" and tells us, among other things, that government performs services for many different groups in the population, including important services for business. The clamor against this so-called "welfare" or "service" state, however, seems to be focused on the programs that give services to individuals. The large bulk of the expenditures of the Federal Government today is due to war and not to welfare. Efforts to make the American people believe that their heavy taxes can be blamed largely on welfare services are palpably unfair and erroneous.

The arguments around the welfare state have assumed major political significance in recent years. The battle, however, seems to be not only between two political parties; one finds differences of opinion within each of them. Witness, for example, the recent statements of Governor Warren who tells us that we must look forward and not backward, and who refuses to be alarmed by the fact that the Federal Government is assuming some responsibility for services in relation to the needs of people. In a talk at Princeton University in 1950, Governor Thomas E. Dewey made this statement:

It must have been some very clumsy Republican—I do not know the origin of the phrase or who perpetrated it—who tried to pin the label "welfare state" on Mr. Truman's government. Others joined in the clamor and, of course, the apologists for big government joyously accepted the epithet as a new instrument of party warfare. They admit they are running a welfare state. They are proud of it! Of course, they are running a welfare state—I am proud of the fact that we in the State of New York have made great social welfare advances, as have most of the states. Anybody who thinks that an attack on the fundamental ideal of security and welfare is appealing to people generally, is living in the middle ages.²

Because we believe in the services, we are concerned about the effectiveness of the money that is spent and we are unswerving in our opposition to inefficiency, duplication, and fraud. With the bil-

² Quoted in *Fortune*, February, 1952.

lions of dollars spent on various welfare services, it is rare that one hears of fraud by public servants administering welfare programs; but we take such a record for granted because we expect of public servants the same integrity and motivation that we have written into our own code of ethics.

We stand solidly for the assumption of responsibility by the Federal Government in all instances of need where the smaller units of government will not or cannot meet the problem with justice, with humanity, and with effective administration.

We in social work believe in freedom—freedom of the individual. When we speak of the dignity of the human personality, we mean the inherent worth of each person. He has worth or value in himself and by virtue of this he has rights—the unalienable rights to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

We stand ready today to protect the individual and to help him maintain his rights as a person; his right to be himself; his right to make choices, and to live his life in privacy if he so wishes; his right to a job if he is able, and, if not, his right to subsistence under conditions of decency and self-respect; his right to participate with his fellows in the affairs of government and society; his right to speak what is on his mind and to worship according to the dictates of his own conscience.

Our tenets are consistent with Article I of the Bill of Rights: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances." We get into trouble because we support this not only in words but in actions. Our interest in freedom is more than an interest in a philosophical abstraction. It has reality in the programs we administer. People who are made to feel dependent by policies and procedures or methods of administration are not free.

The late Justice Louis D. Brandeis wrote this now famous statement in 1911: "Men are not free while financially dependent upon the wills of other individuals. Financial dependence is consistent with freedom only where claim to support rests upon rights and not upon favor."⁸ At the National Conference of Social Work in

⁸ U.S. Report, C.C.C.I., 619-46.

1946, A. Delafield Smith echoed this same thought when he said: "The independence and unplanned, unregimented freedom of action of its rich and powerful members is not a test of a free society. . . . [It] will be found in the scope of right and privilege reserved to, and possessed by, its weakest elements."

This is the reason we have been supporting programs, such as social insurance, adequate nutrition, the availability of health services, etc., that give large emphasis to prevention of dependency. It is the reason that we support the theory of right to receive public assistance when in need.

Now this principle of freedom has many facets, several of which need special attention at this juncture of our history.

We are all cognizant of the hysteria which is threatening to damage individual rights and freedom. Such things as teachers' oaths, poorly administered loyalty programs, unfounded suspicion cast upon those with unorthodox opinions, and many similar devices are not only denials of our democracy but are supported by sheer appeals to emotion. Fear presents itself throughout the land —fear of speaking up, fear of losing one's job because of opinions held, fear of being a social outcast. This is not the stuff on which our democracy has been built. Rather, democracy has developed on the basic cornerstone of freedom to speak out, however much the idea expressed might dissent from the currently accepted. Most of the great advances in our history were originally proposed by people who dissented from the status quo and who proposed something different from current practice. Were we to sew up the mouths of people, retrogression and decay would be almost inevitable and certainly freedom would be lost.

The real threat that faces us is that we are beginning to use some of the same authoritarian tactics against which we are fighting.

Senator Thomas Hennings in a recent Washington address before the Women's National Democratic Club said in part:

While we're doing a good job of fighting for freedom of thought abroad, we're doing exactly the opposite at home. . . . We are using the communist technique in reverse and, I am forced to admit, using it with telling results. . . . We are discouraging freedom of thought on every hand, and doing it in the name of "security." . . . Until we lick the hysteria that we've let loose upon ourselves, until we regain some ma-

turity and the perspective we had only a few short years ago, we are in danger of losing . . . all which our nation stands for.⁴

Mr. Hennings added that he doubts that Communists "can do half as much damage as we are doing ourselves with our eyes wide open."

In discussing the opposing views of the Supreme Court justices in the New York Steinberg case, the *New York Times* commented editorially:

We don't want to see teachers frightened into giving expression only to what is safe, what is orthodox, what is popular at the moment. We don't want to see our children becoming nodding little robots. If the clean light of freedom in the classroom ever becomes dimmed, a major disaster will have befallen America; and the advocates of totalitarianism —whether communist or some other kind makes no difference—will have won their battle without firing a shot.

Freedom is so important to social work that if by any chance it is lost, social work as we know it today might just as well close up shop.

Another aspect of the infringement of freedom may be seen in the unequal opportunities many citizens have because of their race or religion. Believing as we do in the inherent dignity of each individual personality, we in social work do not differentiate the value we put on an individual because he happens to be white or black or red or because he happens to belong to a particular cultural group. He is still an individual and as such he has equal rights and opportunities.

Freedom then is indivisible; we do not have it if we deny it to certain groups or individuals. When we talk of freedom we mean freedom for all, and that means equal rights for all and equal opportunities. As Linton B. Swift said in his famous "Social Worker's Creed" published by the Family Service Association of America in 1946: "I shall base my relations with others on their qualities as individual human beings without distinction as to race or creed or color or economic or social status." That is our belief in social work, and it has no ifs, ands, or buts and no qualifications of any kind.

We recognize that freedom has two sides: privilege and duty. Freedom and responsibility are inseparable. If we claim a high

⁴ Quoted in *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, March 19, 1952.

privilege we must be worthy of the trust upon which our claim is based. It is for that reason that we in social work have set forth in a formal document not only the rights of social workers and of people generally, but the responsibilities as well. In our code of ethics we say among other things that the primary obligation of each social worker is the welfare of the person served; that the worker's "professional responsibility takes precedence over his personal aims and views"; that we shall carry on our business in all ways in an objective manner; that we shall "respect and safeguard the right of persons served to privacy in their contacts with the agency"; that we shall serve "with respect for individual differences and without discrimination either because of special interest or of personal identification with particular ideologies"; that we shall make clear whether we are "acting or speaking as an individual or as a delegated representative of a professional association or agency"; and that we shall "accept responsibility to initiate and to share in the effort to protect the community against unethical practice."

There is a final aspect of freedom to which social work has made a great contribution. It is an attempt to understand the unsuccessful person, the underdog, the failure, the maladjusted; and to appreciate what he is up against. We do not damn him as some aspects of our culture appear to do; we try to understand him and to free him so that he can make the most of his potentialities. We approach an individual as a totality and recognize that his feelings and emotions are important and are an integral part of his being and help frequently to explain his actions. This is one of our significant contributions, and working with related disciplines we have made genuine progress over the last several decades.

In trying to understand the individual we have made an effort to get at causes of his situation, and our experience in dealing with many such individuals has brought us to the advocacy of certain social policies which will remove causes and prevent the same thing from happening to others. That accounts for our broad interest in social legislation pertaining to housing, nutrition, recreation, migrants, and many others. We try to measure social policy in terms of what we know of human needs and behavior.

Take the condition of migrants, for example. Here is a group of people who are called the children of misfortune. "They are the rejects of those sectors of agriculture and of other industries undergoing change." We have an interest in this group partly because we have an interest in people and their well-being, partly because exploited groups like this need our advocacy, and partly because we believe that the "laborer is worthy of his hire."

In the report of the President's Commission on Migratory Labor issued in March, 1951, the Bible is called upon for the following quotation: "Behold, the hire of the laborers who have reaped your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord."⁵ As the report continues, "a million migrants might make this text their indictment of the America they helped to feed and clothe."

Freedom as applied to an individual implies the right of self-determination, the capacity to assess reality, the determination of a pattern for one's own goal. The individuals with whom we deal and to whom we give service may be different from us and may deviate considerably from the patterns of the culture in which we live, but as Linton Swift said, "we accept these differences and endeavor to build a useful relationship upon them."

In an excellent pamphlet entitled *Freedom—a Psychiatrist's Approach*, Dr. Milton R. Sapirstein concludes his statement with this paragraph:

We, therefore, can offer no easy formula for freedom—for freedom is impossible without a dynamic and balanced equilibrium of man's manifold potentialities—as a person, as a member of an intimate or family group, and as a social human being. When these conditions are fulfilled, man can use his mind without being hostile, can compete without being destructive, can create without belittling the works of others. Only then can we use our freedom for the common good and larger social goals.⁶

Notice how this concept of freedom is based on a respect for the individual personality. Our methods may undergo change, our theories of what is best in treatment and approach may change from generation to generation as new knowledge accumulates, but

⁵ James 5:4.

⁶ Milton R. Sapirstein, *Freedom—a Psychiatrist's Approach*, "Ethical Frontiers Series" (New York Society for Ethical Culture, 1950), p. 20.

our respect for the dignity of the individual personality and our concern for the maintenance of his individual rights and freedom have remained the same decade after decade. If there is a constant with respect to our basic philosophy it is this. There is a stability about our basic beliefs which is important.

Because we are and throughout our history have been concerned about the individual, we are interested in the social and economic institutions which impinge upon individuals. As the 1940 White House Conference on Children and Youth brought out so effectively, what is good for the family is good for the individual, what is good for the community is good for the family, and what is good for the nation is good for individual communities. Individuals live in families, families constitute our communities, and the nation is merely a sum total of local communities. Therefore, we have had a consistent interest in society as a whole and we have refused to limit our interests even to our own national boundaries. We believe that the form of society that gives the greatest effective hope and promise for happiness and abundant lives is the one that will survive. We have complete faith in the democratic process and we should like to apply it to all aspects of living.

Finally, our philosophy and approach in social work are essentially optimistic. We think that it is worth doing something about given situations. We believe that progress can be made toward our goals by the intelligent application of knowledge. We are a dynamic profession, refusing to accept the cynicism and pessimism of some of our contemporaries.

Perhaps the greatest danger to democracy today is the detached, noncommittal attitude on the part of so many citizens. We in social work recognize that our effective strength as a nation depends only in part on production lines and armies, but to a greater degree upon an understanding on the part of our citizenry and upon our unimpeachable moral position as a nation. We need now to consider as never before the values that have made us free and great.

We now have in this country the power, the prestige, and the resources. With them go a large responsibility, and our own profession must share it. We accept the challenge.

Community Cooperation for the Community's Welfare

By LOUIS B. SELTZER

I SPEAK AS A PROTAGONIST of the ordinary man. I think I am well qualified to do so, because I am an ordinary man.

I shall try to impart some reflections, do some soul-searching about these United States of America, because if there ever was a time when that was in order, it is in the middle of the allegedly enlightened middle of the twentieth century.

Though we have prosperity; though in addition to sustaining the highest level of life for ourselves as individuals we have sufficient to export part of our substance to other parts of this earth strategically to help contain the renewed effort to defeat human freedom; though all of the United States of America is steadily accelerating as the greatest, the most powerful, the most influential, most prosperous nation so far as the history of mankind upon this troubled planet takes us, nevertheless, at this very moment, we in America are confronted with a fundamental crisis. If that crisis is recognized, observed candidly, met courageously, this country, along with its fabulous prosperity, will survive.

I say "survive" advisedly. Other civilizations, having reached their full bloom, have withered away and are regrettable pages upon mankind's history because they failed through neglect and indifference—the very blights now afflicting us. Democracy is not alone on trial abroad, but on trial within this country itself.

There is no person in America who can with courage and with insight come to any other conclusion than that the moral standards of America, the political principles of America, yes, even in the private and business areas of America, have deteriorated to a point where they have become, I believe, the most important single challenge to those of us sufficiently blessed to live upon this sacred free

soil of the greatest country in all of history. Democracy has become so big, our country has become so big, so vast, so complicated, the technical industrial civilization which the genius of man in this country has created, has become so complicated and tends to behave so unpredictably, that the American people are beginning to wonder about a democracy that expresses itself unfortunately in so very many curious ways—in apathy, in indifference, in disgraceful neglect of citizenship responsibility as attested eloquently by the fact that in 1948 little more than half of those qualified to vote, did so, and which in many other ways expresses itself beyond the ability of the average person to understand it. We fear those things we do not understand—fear and distrust them.

I do not believe that there is a social worker who will too vigorously dissent from the assertion that we in America have plenty of time in which to indulge ourselves in the fruits of our democracy, in the remarkable profusion of conveniences by which life is made more comfortable, in what has appropriately been described as a push-button civilization. I do not believe that many of us, by the same token, will too vigorously disagree that a preponderant percentage of us are entranced by the remarkable biceps of Mr. America as he indulges his antics on electronics' newest contribution, TV, or observes Captain Video in his ceaseless enterprise of trying to transplant himself to some more satisfactory and perhaps more adventurous planet; or that the majority of us engage in the truly delightful pastimes of football, baseball, wrestling, canasta, and bridge, and in traveling across the face of America in those remarkable conveyances made by the geniuses of Detroit and whose design changes each year with the purpose of stimulating our desire for more of them. I do not doubt for a moment that we are in agreement that we in America at this moment are singularly preoccupied with the material aspects of this incredible civilization.

I am not too sure that I would see very much dissent if the assertion were also to be made that too many of us assume that when we leave our respective homes in the morning at sunup to go to the assembly line, the office, or wherever our professional activity takes us for a wage, a dividend, a bonus, a salary, and return to our

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homes at sundown that this represents our ultimate contribution to our democratic society. And of course nothing could be further from the truth than that.

But why are these things taking place? One of the reasons, I suspect, is that we have grown so vast, so big; government has become remote and aloof, difficult to get at. I am not too sure that generally speaking the American people today, in the middle of the twentieth century, have as keen and graphic a concept of true democracy as they held in the middle of the nineteenth century; for paralleling this remarkable material drift in America has been a reduction of interest in a good many other things, not only in government, but in religion and morals.

I sometimes wonder whether this push-button civilization in which we are living so handsomely has not captivated us so much that we believe that by an extension of that psychology into the areas of government, community responsibility, and social welfare we can accomplish all that is necessary as easily as we push a button for lights and automobiles and washing machines.

There is another fundamental facet of this problem which disturbs some of us and it is that at no time in human history has there been such a specialized society as exists in America today. Doctors are no longer general practitioners—at least not in as great numbers as formerly—doctors are specialists. They are heart specialists, brain specialists, nerve specialists. What is true of medicine is true across the other professions. We have become specialists in America, and that accounts in some measure for the remarkable material prosperity, growth, and acceleration of this civilization of ours.

But also, it accounts in some measure for the difficulty which we are experiencing in communicating with one another. We have created vernaculars unique to our specialized groups. Doctors can understand doctors—but the public has difficulty in understanding doctors. Lawyers understand lawyers—but the public has difficulty in understanding lawyers. And so on—including, if you please, social workers and frequently newspaper editorial writers.

Social workers are the common denominator of America. I believe profoundly in social welfare work in America.

There was a time, of course, when the church lawn was festooned with Chinese lanterns at a social hour the proceeds of which would be used by the minister to finance assistance for the less fortunate among his parishioners. But America has expanded and grown, and that kind of technique and practice has been rendered obsolete. There necessarily have come in its place truly remarkable men and women, trained, sensitive, able to undertake the responsibility of the social health and welfare of America. With all of my heart and with all the earnestness of which I am capable let me as an editor, as a citizen, express my appreciation and admiration that you, able, considerate, imaginative, and alert men and women, were persuaded by some inner impulse to assume this important contribution to the life in modern America.

But, in the average, the American people are confused and bewildered. Across America today there is a strange feeling of futility and impotence among individuals. They see this vast America, and as individuals they feel futile and frustrated and helpless in the presence of it. That accounts in a large measure, along with the impetus given by the unexpectedly serious depression in the thirties, for the extraordinary growth of organized labor groups and the forming of groups and blocs and organizations, the purpose of which was to lend strength in numbers against this strange psychological feeling of individual impotence with which we as Americans were seized. People are yearning to be understood, to be noticed, and there are voices raised in America they do not understand.

In antiquity the Tower of Babel was left unfinished because the tongues of men could not be understood. Today we have as a modern counterpart the tongues of specialized information, and their purpose seems sometimes to conceal rather than to express. The information distributed by press agents and other spokesmen is not always as clear and unmistakable in its language and purpose as it should be.

What we need in America, I believe, more urgently than any other one thing, is a reversion to old-fashioned speaking out honestly and candidly. We are held too tightly by economic interlockings, and it results in our drifting along, not speaking out as cour-

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geously, as indignantly, as earnestly as was once characteristic of the American people. We fear too much as individuals that if we speak out, somehow we will be hurt by this economic reciprocity which has become an obsession with us in America. What we need in America today is some old-fashioned courage and candor in these areas which are so persistently bringing us to a kind of national disaster which we try to ignore but which in our hearts we know exists, and about which we would like to do something but because of these influences with which I have been dealing, we are reluctant both to face and to do.

An example of what I am talking about is the state of mind of the American people toward the presidential election. Because of our apathy, indifference, and disgraceful negligence, because of our willingness to turn over to others the responsibilities of citizenship which properly belong to us, we have, I believe, developed a kind of guilt complex in America. And so we wish fervently for some miracle, for some great leader to be elected President who, in a hurry, can undo and change and correct some of these things which our negligence over the years has permitted to come into being.

It is not going to happen that way and it should not happen that way. No matter who is elected President, whether it is Bob Taft, Ike Eisenhower, Estes Kefauver, Adlai Stevenson, or any other man, no man can perform a miracle singlehandedly for America. The miracle can be performed only by the American people, by their own soul-searching, by their own strengthening, by their own resighting the targets at which they as citizens of this remarkable, wonderful, beloved country ought to be shooting every day of their lives.

I love this country. I would willingly give my life, if need be, to make certain that this country in its present form continues for the sake of my grandchildren and yours and the children of the future.

Those who have traveled the earth's surface will testify that two thirds of the world population at this very moment are desperately trying to find enough to keep their bodies sustained by food, clothed against the elements, and protected against the skies. In America there is less than one fifteenth of the population of the

world, and still we manufacture almost half of the world's goods.

Ours is a country which in less than three centuries has achieved more than any other country in all of human history. Here in this country there live together in the greatest degree of amity 160,000,000 men and women of different faiths, physiological origins, beliefs, under the mantle of the greatest document, not excepting the Magna Carta, conceived as an instrument of government by the mind of man—the Constitution of these federated states. We are indeed a blessed, we are indeed a fortunate people.

To you who are the soldiers of peace in the truest sense for America, peace for the spirit as well as the body; to you who minister intelligently, ably, sensitively, to the infinite variety of the requirements of human beings today; to you who are the common denominators of America's soul, common denominators of America's language in this specialized age, I am very happy to have this opportunity to pour out my own soul, and convey to you these reflections, knowing as I do so that many of you will not agree, either in part or in whole with what I have said. I ask only that you accept it as said by a man who is trying honestly to be of assistance to his fellow men and the country he loves.

In whatever you do, wherever you do it, I sincerely hope with all my heart that you will assist this country in reasserting its independent, individual character, the courage to express ourselves more freely, to reassert ourselves with the freedom of speech that is so fearfully important, but which we are not exercising in the full measure we should. May God bless and keep you who are charged so gravely with the responsibility of the social welfare in America. May the deliberations of the Conference subject current techniques and concepts to the challenges of changing circumstances, so that in turn you may adapt yourselves even more efficiently and effectively to the changing requirements of the social health and welfare of America.

I said at the outset that I was a protagonist of an ordinary man. It is the ordinary man who makes America. But the ordinary man in America, I am afraid, is lost in the confusion of the many tongues he does not quite understand. In the conflicting economic currents and tides that sweep him along, and when the democratic cause is

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indeed on trial both abroad and at home, no greater truth could be spoken than that, for it is so.

Here before us, in the middle of the twentieth century, is equally as grave a challenge to the preservation of our country as was faced in 1776 and 1865 and again thus far twice in the twentieth century, and perhaps thrice—though God forbid it should happen.

We in America must, as citizens, in the presence of such unparalleled abundance, such unprecedented confusion of creature comforts, assert ourselves as did in their time those who came before us; otherwise our problem at the end of this century will be considerably different from the problem we face in 1952.

I am hopeful and I am confident that today in America we are realizing these things; there is an awareness of the challenge and a growing courage to meet it.

Strengthening the Foundations of Democracy

By IRA DE A. REID

IT IS WITH SOME UNCERTAINTY that I undertake to discuss this subject. Any prophecy will imply an understanding and wisdom which I do not possess. I undertake the task of analysis because I believe that social workers are willing to consider the problems of contemporary living and working in the world's foremost democracy; that they are not searching for easy, certain, and final answers to the situations we define as problems; that they are willing to come to grips with ideas as well as with situations.

I shall analyze four generalized situations that seem to provide opportunities for the professional occupations to make more certain their principles and practices in the areas of living and working together. They are: the postulates underlying our approach to new social problems; the relation between dynamic social needs and the use of material resources; the proliferation of public and private services; and the principles of communication.

I shall examine these four areas with reference to the general problems they pose for our society and to the special problems occasioned by the presence of "minority" groups and "little men" within our ranks. In doing so, one may rightly ask what evidence there is that these types of problems exist in our American democracy. Let us look at a few illustrative appraisals and explorations that at once provide clues for our analysis and have meaning for contemporary social work practice.

1. At times, many Americans are haunted by the situation reflected in the contemporary play *The Death of a Salesman*. Here was Willy Loman, a white-collar man, who by virtue of his moderate success in business turns out to be a total failure in life. The dream that Willy Loman possessed never caused him to doubt. He

succeeded with it; he failed with it; he died with it. Why did he have this dream? Is it not true that he had to have a false dream in our society—a society which seems to place the seat of rational behavior in its institutions rather than in its individual members? What limits does our culture set for success? How much success does the culture regard as enough?

2. There is the assertion of William H. Whyte that our contemporary youth is the most group-minded this culture has ever had. An interesting phenomenon has been occurring in this country, says Mr. Whyte:

In a country where "individualism"—independence and self-reliance—was the watchword for three centuries, the view is now coming to be accepted that the individual has no meaning—except, that is, as a member of a group. "Group integration," "group equilibrium," "interpersonal relations," "training for group living," "group dynamics," "social interaction," "social physics"; more and more the notes are sounded—each innocuous or legitimate in itself, but together a theme that has become unmistakable.

[The problem with which Mr. Whyte is dealing is] *rationalized* conformity—an open, articulate philosophy which holds that group values are not only expedient but right and good as well. Three mutually supporting ideas form the underpinning: (1) that moral values and ethics are relative; (2) that what is important is the kind of behavior and attitudes that makes for the harmonious functioning of the group; (3) that the best way to achieve this is through "scientific" techniques . . .

[What] we are now presented with is Social Man—completely a creature of his environment, guided almost totally by the whims and prejudices of the group, and incapable of any real self-determination of his destiny. Only through social engineering—i.e., applied groupthink—can he be saved. The path to salvation, social engineers explain, lies in a trained elite that will benevolently manipulate us into group harmony. And who's to be the elite? Social engineers modestly clear their throats.¹

In analyzing "groupthink" Mr. Whyte raises the question:

Has the individual reached a low enough state for us to become concerned? When the nation's best-selling novel advocates his abject submission without raising eyebrows; when some corporations make it policy not to hire honor graduates for fear they may not be good mixers; when it is seriously stated that "natural leaders" can be made obsolete,

¹ William H. Whyte, Jr., "Groupthink," *Fortune*, XLV, No. 3 (March, 1952), 114.

the time has come at least to think about the matter. For if the drift continues, man may soon cease to fret over such things at all. He will finally have engineered for himself that equilibrious society. Gilded into harmonious integration, he will be free from tensions and frustrations, content in the certainties of his special function, no longer tantalized by the sense of infinity. He will at last have become a complete bore.

. . . We need, certainly, to find ways of making this bewildering society of ours run more smoothly and we need all the illumination science can give us to do it. But we need something more. Lest man become an intellectual eunuch, his autonomy sacrificed for the harmony of the group, a new respect for the individual must be kindled. A revival of the humanities, perhaps, a conscious, deliberate effort . . . not only to accommodate dissent but to encourage it . . .²

3. Some perceptive insights into the realities of democracy as seen by the middle classes are revealed by Mills in *White Collar*, his analysis of the American middle classes:

The uneasiness, the malaise of our time is due to this root fact: in our politics and economy, in family life and religion—in practically every sphere of our existence—the certainties of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have disintegrated or been destroyed and, at the same time, no new sanctions or justifications for the new routines we live, and must live, have taken hold. So there is no acceptance and no rejection, no sweeping hope and no sweeping rebellion. There is no plan of life. Among white collar people, the malaise is deep-rooted; for the absence of any order of belief has left them morally defenseless as individuals and politically impotent as a group. . . . Estranged from community and society in a context of distrust and manipulation; alienated from work, and on the personality market, from self; expropriated of individual rationality, and politically apathetic—these are the new little people, the unwilling vanguard of modern society. . . . We need to characterize American society of the mid-twentieth century in more psychological terms, for now the problems that concern us most border on the psychiatric. It is one great task of social studies to describe the larger economic and political situation in terms of its meaning for the inner life and the external career of the individual, and in doing this to take into account how the individual often becomes falsely conscious and blinded. In the welter of the individual's daily experience the framework of modern society must be sought; within that framework the psychology of the little man must be formulated.³

² *Ibid.*, p. 146.

³ C. Wright Mills, *White Collar* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951), pp. xvii-xx.

Into these general patterns fit the contemporary problems faced by the little men of different colors, creeds, and nationalities in our culture.

4. Another postulate is found in the disturbing challenges presented by Goodman in her study of *Race Awareness in Young Children*, in which she points out after studying 103 young children:

That "little children" sometimes pay a startling amount of attention to race, that they are ready to pay attention to race just as soon as they pay attention to other physical and socially significant attributes (like age and sex) . . .

That the high degree of race awareness we have seen in many of these children is startling . . . that four-year-olds, particularly white ones, show unmistakable signs of the onset of racial bigotry . . .

That Negro children not yet five can sense that they are marked, and grow uneasy, [having] higher levels of activity, emotionality, sensitivity, gregariousness, competitiveness and aggressiveness . . . as compared with white schoolmates. They can like enormously what they see across the color line, and find it hard to like what they see on their side. In this there is scant comfort or security, and in it are the dynamics for rending personality asunder.⁴

5. In addition, one may note the vivid portrayals of personality disorganization reflected in the "marks of oppression" worn by the Negro clients studied by Kardiner, Ovesey, and others, who point out that the only hope for producing better personality types than are discovered in that study is by changing the society in which the minorities grow up.⁵

6. Finally, let us view the position taken by Ralph Ellison in his novel *Invisible Man*:

I'm not blaming anyone for this state of affairs, mind you; nor merely crying *mea culpa*. The fact is you carry part of your sickness within you, at least I do as an invisible man. . . . You go along for years knowing something is wrong, then you suddenly discover you're as transparent as air. At first you tell yourself that it's all a dirty joke, or that it's due to the "political situation." But deep down you come to suspect that you're yourself to blame, and you stand naked and shivering before

⁴ Mary Ellen Goodman, *Race Awareness in Young Children* (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Press, 1952), pp. 217ff.

⁵ A. Kardiner, L. Ovesey, et al., *The Mark of Oppression* (New York: Norton, 1951).

the millions of eyes who look through you unseeingly. *That* is the real soul-sickness, the spear in the side, the drag by the neck through the mob-angry town, the Grand Inquisition, the rip in the belly with guts spilling out, the trip to the chamber with the deadly gas that ends in the oven so hygienically clean—only it's worse because you continue stupidly to live. But live you must, and you can neither make passive love to your sickness or burn it out and go on to the next conflicting phase. Yes, but what is the next phase? How often have I tried to find it? Over and over again I've gone up above to seek it out. For like everyone else in our country, I started out with my share of optimism. I believed in hard work and progress and action, but now, after being first for society and then against it, I assign myself no rank or any limit, and such an attitude is very much against the trend of our times. . . . I'm invisible not blind . . . the world is just as concrete, ornery, vile and sublimely wonderful as before, only now I better understand my relation to it and to me. I've come a long way from those days when, full of illusion, I lived a public life and attempted to function under the assumption that the world was solid and all the relationships therein. Now I know that men are different and that all life is divided and that only in division is there true health. . . . I have been hurt to the point of abysmal pain, hurt to the point of invisibility. And I'd defend it because in spite of all I find that I love . . . there's a possibility that even an invisible man has a socially responsible role to play.⁶

From Willy Loman through the Invisible Man, through the little man of the white-collar classes, the malaise of the group, the demeaning status of the adult Negro personality, the behavior of little children, runs the strained thread of democracy's fabric. How can this fabric be strengthened? Let us within this context examine the previously mentioned principles and postulates.

1. We may strengthen the foundations of democracy by reexamining the postulates underlying our approaches to new social problems.

In this area the issues are many. Our examination might include the general problems involved in the changing character and form of the American neighborhood and the assumption that the contemporary neighborhood is more a locality residence area than one of primary social relationships; that the school, the job, and the friendship constellation are more important clues to social co-

⁶ Ralph Ellison, *Invisible Man* (New York: Random House, 1951), pp. 434ff.

hesiveness than is the neighborhood. Evidence in support of this assumption is plentiful.

We might examine the practices associated with, or related to, the employment of more than seven million people in state and Federal governments or the two million or more employed by the Federal Government. All these people are denied in one way or another full participation as citizens because of their employment. Is the principle a valid one?

A current problem is associated with the determination of loyalty to the government. The rise of loyalty tests, loyalty oaths, the determination of one's political guilt through an assertion of association by one who has admitted subversive memberships, is indeed a cruel manifestation of democracy. One raises the question as to whether such a principle of rationality inhering in government violates the principle of the sacredness of personality that inheres in good social relationships.

Or we might examine the practices associated with our consistent reiterations of equality for all people regardless of race, creed, color, class, or nationality. We are well aware of the current efforts to clean up this cesspool of discrimination within our culture. We know that more so than at any time in our history we are interested in making democracy work for more and more of our people. We act as if, however, the job can be done without reference to the situations that have developed because we have permitted discriminatory practices to survive; as if we do not have to "undo" as well as "do" the ways of democracy-in-practice.

As social workers you might be interested in the application of such an hypothesis to the institution of the family. The social history of the American family is conceived in terms of a nobility derived from religions, and an aristocracy derived from assumptions of racial superiority. Historically, it was an hierarchical form presided over by the white adult male. In secondary positions were women, children, and nonwhites. Today the woman is in most instances the social and legal coequal of man in the family relationship; the children, bless them, are both seen and heard. Nonwhites developed their family life along similar lines with, of course, the expected lag in that development. Theoretically, all families as-

sumed that mixtures across racial lines were not "good"; that is, they were not to be accorded the benefit of sanction through marriage.

These principles may have been valid for an eighteenth- or nineteenth-century United States, but they seem somewhat archaic for a culture that has as many intergroup associations as does ours. If democracy is to be strengthened it must find some of its support in the girding of family life for people who wish to marry "regardless of race, creed, color, and nationality." More than two-score states deny this freedom. Social work practice in terms of the problems presented usually adheres to the tried but not necessarily true formula that children born of mixed unions should be placed in the foster care of nonwhite parents, or that children born of certain religiously identifiable parents should be placed only in a home of that religion. We might well ask ourselves why these practices continue? For the good of the couples desiring to marry? For the good of the children? For the good of the group? (Which one?) In both principle and practice the increasing number of mixed family units in our nation is at the mercy of circumstance, without benefit of constructive, positive practice in its behalf.

The dilemma of the democratic family is no less when we examine the general pattern of marriage. Our culture acts on the premise of the insolubility of marriage. It is sealed and packaged with the religious affirmation of this fact. The law, on the other hand, says that the dissolution of marriage is at least permissive. The proportion of couples dissolving their marital bonds reached a new peak during the past decade. It is reasonable to assume that effective marriage or premarital counseling might lead to fewer unsatisfactory marriages. It is as reasonable to conclude that it might lead to fewer marriages, too. As the trend continues we are being brought nearer and nearer to the necessity for finding anew the meaningful sanctions for sexual companionship and child rearing. It should be of concern to contemporary social work that the market price paid by a potential bride or groom in marrying out of her or his traditional religion may be that of promising their unborn children to that religion as reparations.

2. We may strengthen the foundations of democracy by estab-

lishing a closer relationship between our dynamic social needs and the use of our material resources.

Nothing in democracy's social history is more revealing as to the nature of strengthening needed than is the economic order. If men could agree on anything it would seem that they would agree on matters of providing food, clothing, and shelter. We have witnessed our most tragic failures in this area. In defense of contemporary problems in housing we have systematically trotted out cultural definitions to rationalize the inadequacies of our society. It is to be hoped that social work will soon weary of these performances. The need for the adequate housing of the highly mobile American people is a critical one. The pace at which we are meeting this need is a pathetically slow one. The time has come, however, when we must realize that the providing of homes is but one phase of the basic changes that have to be effected in the whole framework of land use and development in the United States. The *ameliorative* process in a democracy in this instance is providing the houses; the *creative* process calls for examining and reforming the whole pattern of land use practices in the urban community. In our contemporary land use practices we find the root factors of socially inadequate neighborhoods, inadequate and discriminatory public services, racial segregation in public and private services, and mounting tax loads. We may continue to build new houses with public or private funds, in single or multiple units, but we are merely postponing the inevitable reckoning by thinking we are really strengthening the democratic process by providing four walls and a roof on land sites and land use principles that are becoming less and less socially productive.

Whether we deal with the problem of housing or with the problems of food, clothing, and public ownership and services we are compelled to face a close scrutiny of our bounty. Democracy has not yet designed a social program that would be as costly either in the short run or the long run as are our expenditures for defense and war. The concept of the "welfare state" has been hurled in our teeth though we have had no inventory of the economic costs of the social services we render. Nor have we established the rela-

tionship between our expenditures for social services—the welfare principle—and the price principle of our economy. We do not know how much is too much. We do not know the basis for determining "value received" in our social economy.

We do know, however, that the social cost of neglect and inadequate services is a cumulative one. The ways in which we have piled up debits in goods and services to the minority peoples of this democracy indicate the need for newer, larger, and more selective support for all programs that seek to implement our democratic pronouncements and ideals. Yet, the poorest supported programs in our country are those designed to close the gaps of inadequacy that have been created by democracy's neglect of the little people. For more than a century this responsibility was carried almost entirely by private philanthropy of one sort and another. Public aid has been a relatively new agent for constructive good in this undertaking. To both public and private agencies we may now say with certainty and conviction that the foundations of democracy may be strengthened through the establishment of programs and appropriations, indemnity funds, even guilt funds, that will permit the American people to take the calculated risk of social improvement with scientific temper.

Such a program is not unrelated to the international problems with which we seek to deal in Africa, Asia, India, Israel, and the West Indies. We now know that dollars alone will neither procure nor make secure the democratic world we seek. These little people, too, want to know if the United States is democratic by definition only. They too wish to know if the United States is prepared to make costly financial sacrifices in support of the principles it holds dear.

3. We may strengthen the foundations of democracy by strengthening the human relations services of our public and private agencies.

The proliferation of public and private agencies engaged in the practice of human relations is one of the most unique aspects of American democracy. This superabundance of ways and means organizations has a great element of social good but, in the main,

reflects a great crisis of democracy—organizations with form but without content, characterized by bewildered good will, standing in need of professional services.

This may be regarded as a brash interpretation of democracy's efforts to meld a multigroup society, but it should be remembered that the attempt to adjust the easily upset balances in human relations, particularly the racial ones, requires high skills. We cannot repair such a delicate system with gloved hands and ironmongers' tools. In this democracy we must substitute for contentless co-operation and voids of skill a meaningful program of social integration. For the partial, perfunctory, and temporary attachments and programs of the present we must substitute devices through which we can build or weave a sustained system of relationships in which differences are understood but not exploited by either the strong or the weak.

4. We may strengthen the foundations of democracy by improving our systems of communication.

The effective democratic society demands a common tongue. Occupationally geared as we are, our lives tend to develop specialized jargons which tend to isolate rather than to congregate us. The patter of social casework, the mumbo jumbo of college professors, the dialectic of Marxists, the "Fourth-of-July" words of the free-enterpriser, the alphabets of the government employee, the blessed truths of the spiritually elect, the colloquialisms of the mass society, the learned lingo of the scientist, the platitudes of the politician and the statesman—all of these are without constructive meaning until they serve to create social unity rather than to provide professional comradeship.

It seems to me that our present communication devices serve the interests of our institutions and our crafts rather than the needs of the victim, client, worker, leader, layman, or the public. Here is the aristocratic fallacy, the elite language, at its operational best and meaningful worst. One may not be too wrong in suggesting that the greatest communication devices for promoting group unity are to be found in the disparaged devices of TV, radio, and the comics with their simple, unadulterated, yet socially proscribed language. At least everybody understands them. Democracy suffers

from concept trouble. Such terms as "equality," "race relations," "class struggle," "segregation," "sin," and "democracy" have meaning for the strengthening of democracy only when they provide opportunities for achievement and growth, not when they are used to perpetuate the status quo. In fine, we can strengthen democracy by dealing with its people at the levels of least befuddlement and most understanding.

The outlines of a new society have arisen around us, a society anchored in institutions the nineteenth century did not know. As we face its development and prepare ourselves for its unanticipated consequences we will recognize that today's democracy is not synonymous with utopia. We will recognize, too, that only in its most abstract sense is the democracy that was good enough for our fathers good enough for us. The long and bitter battles man has been waging against the ancient institutions of social, religious, racial, national, and economic hocus-pocus are not yet over though each skirmish seems to help man plan for the next engagement. We have learned that at times our intelligence causes us to behave rather stupidly in a world where unsympathetic men exploit the weak, deride the stupid, make noble martyrs of the young soldier dead, and deride the nonconformist. We know, too, that the most tragic features of our present plight include the way in which we have raised the standards of living with cruel partiality; and the way in which we have wasted good will through the ineffectiveness and misdirection that are reflected in our failure to convert kindly feelings into the practical forms in which they achieve their intended results. We have learned the need for conscious direction and a positive program in our social institutions. We have come to know that to remain inattentive or to allow prejudice or smugness to take its course is to surrender to the most antisocial groups in our communities, the enemies within the democratic community. We have learned that there is a vast amount of slack to be taken up in the democratic community. In our efforts to strengthen the foundations of democracy we ask that the agents and institutions of our political and economic democracy give undivided loyalty to those it professes to serve. As members of the democratic society, we promise to meet with experimental answers, at least, the chal-

lenges implied by the expediencies we face. We promise to initiate the beginning techniques and controls in such a way as to permit their dynamic continuity and as to prevent them from becoming symbolic fetishes to be rid of their dust on every nationalistic holy day. In other words, in strengthening democracy the people of this free state promise to become and remain alert to the discrepancies between democracy's presumptive principles and the institutional system that embodies them. They stand ready to make costly sacrifices, if necessary, to make democracy a free system of congenial common values in principle and in practice.

How easy it would be to avoid all of this and join in Walt Whitman's praise of animals:

I think I could turn and live with animals, they are so placid and self-contained.

I stand and look at them sometimes half the day long.
They do not sweat and whine about their condition,
They do not lie awake in the dark and weep for their sins,
They do not make me sick discussing their duty to God,
Not one is dissatisfied, not one is demented with the mania of owning things.
Not one kneels to another, nor to his kind that lived thousands of years ago,
Not one is respectable and industrious over the whole earth,
So they show their relations to me, and I accept them,
They bring me tokens of myself, they evince them plainly in their possession.

Democracy need not go to the dogs for its survival, nor need it continue to whimper or bully its way into a world power system. Neither of these need be if we, the people, act with reason and realism and a certain decency. Democracy may be the imagination of what we have not; it may be, too, the idealization or apotheosis of what we actually have; but it must be the achieving of what we seek. Strengthen democracy we must. We shall do so by testing and reaffirming the theoretical faith we have in it; by destroying the fantastic conceptions, practices, and institutions based upon the aristocratic fallacies that infest it. We shall do so by creating new ways, new principles, new institutions, with, through, and by which more and more of the world's little men may fare well.

Economic Factors Affecting Family Living

By EWAN CLAGUE

DEEP CONCERN OVER THE FUTURE of family living has been expressed in practically every society and in every epoch in the history of mankind. From the most primitive societies to the most advanced, the status of the family is a matter of vital importance to the survival of the tribe, the race, or the civilization. Some fifty years ago a biologist who became a famous economist (Thorstein Veblen) expressed the judgment that military prowess and armed conquest, for example, had never prevailed over "the diligent growing of crops and children." Short-run problems, however acute, often fade into insignificance in comparison with such vital long-run problems as the establishment of successful family living.

However, the statement of the problem in such global terms is not of much help in dealing with the specific nature of this problem at a particular time and place—the United States in the 1950s. The stresses and strains upon family living today are to some extent new and different, so the solutions of former times may not be useful. The situations which we face require new adaptations; that is why we must diagnose the problem as it exists today and must discover solutions which may not have been tried before.

This same economist became quite pessimistic when he viewed our particular situation in the United States and in the modern industrial world generally. He argued that the human organism which is modern man developed its physiological and psychological characteristics in an "advanced barbarism." This means simply that the human being of today has a body and a mind which thrive best in more primitive living conditions—hunting, fishing, and agricultural activities; rural living; small communities; strong family

and clan ties. The development of Western civilization has moved steadily away from this primitive base. It has brought about factory work, large cities, indoor living, sedentary occupations, and weakened family ties. Veblen recognized the adaptability of the human being to changed conditions, but he thought that the speed of industrial change far exceeded the rate of adaptation. Hence, he was essentially pessimistic about the long-run future of Western civilization and its institutions.

We do not need to accept Veblen's pessimism. With respect to the physical organism, he was undoubtedly right. It does take hundreds of generations and many centuries to modify the structure of the human body. But we may express with some confidence the hope that Veblen greatly underrated the adaptability of the human mind. The brain which can conceive and create the atomic bomb or penicillin should also be able to adapt our social and economic living to new conditions. Let us turn our attention, then, to the specific problems of today.

In discussing family living we must recognize that social, economic, environmental, cultural, and emotional factors are all at work. These are so intertwined and they shade into each other so imperceptibly that it is difficult to discuss any one factor without relating it to the others. It is important to insure an integrated analysis and then to devise our solutions in concert. However, it is my task to point up some of the economic factors which have bearing on this problem.

Stability of income.—Recently I read a discussion of the problems that a young woman faces in choosing a husband. The question was whether it would be better to marry an actor, a musician, an artist, or some other man considered more interesting than a teacher, a bank clerk, a machinist, or any one of the more prosaic types. The cold record indicates that marriage has a much better chance of success with the second group than with the first. Now it does seem to be well established that the artistic type of male makes a more successful "great lover" and without doubt can provide a young woman with more ecstatic living. Of course, the psychiatrist may claim the problem to be that the brilliant, imaginative, and

erratic person chooses the occupations of those in the first group, and he behaves as he does because of his temperament and not because of his occupation. However, we economists may be permitted the observation that there is an economic factor which may play some part here, namely, instability of employment and income.

Successful marriage and family living, I believe, are correlated in a high degree with steady employment and stability of income. It is this economic factor fully as much as temperament which influences the rearing of a family. Even a high income may not solve the family problem if it is unstable and erratic. This latter kind of income frequently causes improvident and disorganized spending so that the family revels in wealth at one time and suffers poverty at another. I need not go into the difficult husband-and-wife relationship which stems from this situation, nor need I discuss the effects on the children. One of the prime requisites of successful family living is reasonable continuity of income, preferably by steady employment on the part of the head of the family.

What is the present state of affairs with regard to this stability? Anyone can see that we are immeasurably better off in this country today than we were in the 1930s when there was such a vast amount of unemployment. The maintenance of a high level of employment is one of the solutions for this problem. We have enjoyed this high level for more than ten years, on a nation-wide, over-all basis. If these high levels of employment can be reasonably well maintained in the future, we shall undoubtedly have taken an important step toward the improvement of family living.

It is true that there is still high labor turnover in industrial and commercial jobs. This turnover does show a certain amount of unstable employment in some families. On the other hand, our labor turnover figures show that the bulk of the present turnover is due to voluntary quitting on the part of the employee. In some cases this represents an effort on his part to rise in the economic scale by getting a better job. In other cases, it represents a flight from an unsatisfactory job in the hope of finding a more satisfactory one. There may be further steps which the nation could take toward improving job security, but if we can prevent major depressions

such as the one we experienced in the 1930s, we shall have done a great deal to remove one factor of insecurity from American family living.

There is one more point worth noting in this connection. In the crisis of twenty years ago we adopted a program of social security. For our purposes here, the programs of unemployment insurance and public assistance for families are the more important. Perhaps we should include old age insurance and old age assistance as well, because in some instances the financial crisis of the young family is due to the burden of the old people.

The significant point is that the nation has taken steps to provide some continuity of income even in the face of loss of employment and wage-earning capacity. In so far as it can be done consistently with sound operation, there should be an extension of these programs to as many of our working people as is possible. This minimum security, of course, should not be a substitute for work, nor should it operate as a discouragement to participation in the labor force. Unemployment insurance, for example, helps preserve skills and work habits which are of value in raising the productive capacity of the nation; however, from the family point of view, its primary significance is in obtaining a reasonable minimum income in order to preserve family living.

Level of income.—It is easy to point out that the standard of living of the American people is the highest in the world. It is easy to point out that even the unemployment insurance benefits in the United States, in terms of real wages, are higher than the full-time earnings of workers in many other countries. From a comparative point of view, therefore, it might seem that we have in the United States an economic paradise. This, however, is not the way it appears to the people within the country. They are impressed with the comparative well-being of their fellow citizens. A high standard of living is a joy to its possessors, but it is also a compulsion upon them. Children going to school, to church, to the movies, to the playgrounds, must dress and behave like their playmates. Families at the lower end of the income scale in the United States are conscious of their shortcomings in the American standard, and therefore they take steps to improve their position.

The bearing of this on the problem of family living expresses itself in one important way, namely, the working wife.

Women in all eras and all societies have worked vigorously in jobs not connected with their home duties. In fact, on the whole, they have worked more persistently and strenuously than men. It is only in very advanced societies and in very modern times that the housewife has enjoyed any substantial amount of leisure. Why, then, does she not stay home and enjoy it?

The answer is that a considerable proportion of American women consider it necessary to work outside the home in order to maintain or to raise the standard of living of the family. At the present time, in a total labor force of some sixty-five million in the United States, about nineteen million are women. According to estimates by the Bureau of the Census, no less than nine million women in the labor force are married and over four million are mothers with children under eighteen. This is not wholly a matter of the level of income; sometimes women work because of the unemployment of the family head. This is especially true in times of depression. Today, however, it could be said that, by and large, it is the desire for higher family income and an improved standard of living which leads women to take jobs outside the home.

We must not overrate this point. Recent statistics show that the marriage rate and the birth rate in the United States are at a high level in comparison with that of recent decades. Furthermore, there has been an actual decline in the participation of young women from twenty to thirty-four in the labor force. As compared to the trend in previous decades, there is actually a deficit of a million and a half of such young women. This means that they are married and rearing families, and have withdrawn from the labor force for this purpose. This is an item on the asset side of the ledger of family living which we should bear in mind.

Let us turn our attention briefly to the more than a million and a half mothers with young children who are now working outside the home. For this analysis I have to draw upon a science other than my own economics. My wife is a practicing pediatrician who deals all the time with mothers of young children. As a physician she emphasizes the prime importance of the mother's being in the

home during the first formative years of the child's life. This is acutely important in the preschool years. This is the period in which the emotional life of the child is largely set. Yet this is sometimes a period of financial difficulty in the young family. The husband may be beginning his occupation and, therefore, has comparatively low earnings. Sometimes he is going to school at night in order to improve his ability. The young family may be trying to buy a home. All of us know of many young mothers in these situations who feel impelled to hold a regular outside job. I make no suggestions for dealing with this problem; I merely emphasize the fact that our social and economic policies should be directed toward giving such aid as we can to the young family in the formative years. Specifically, it would be socially desirable if economic pressures did not force the young mother into the labor force until the children are in school. Furthermore, even during the school years, it would be better if the jobs which the mother can successfully hold were on a part-time basis so that the children find the mother active in the household when they come home from school.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1951 conducted a survey of family expenditures in ninety-one cities throughout the United States. These surveys were for the purpose of revising the Consumers' Price Index. However, they yielded a vast amount of information on the income and expenditures of families of all classes in the cities of the country, down even to cities of about five thousand population. The data have not been fully analyzed or published, although the Bureau hopes to do this in 1953 if funds can be obtained for that purpose. From these surveys we can obtain a detailed and accurate picture of specific family situations—the numbers of wage earners in the family, the level of income, and the ways in which the family spent that income. These data could furnish guides to the problem of low incomes versus a minimum adequate standard of living.

There is no necessity to do more here than to call attention to the fact that children and income do not always go together. There is a minority of families in which larger numbers of children coincide with smaller incomes of the wage earners. These are the

problem families from the point of view of our discussion. When we know more in detail about the exact composition of this family group, and the nature of their income problems, perhaps some steps could be devised to assist them.

Living conditions.—There are some other problems of an economic character which have an influence upon family living. One of these is geographic mobility, that is, the movement of the family from place to place in pursuit of an occupation and a living. All of us undoubtedly have friends who have considered the possibility of overseas service. In many instances the family has to ponder seriously the question whether young children should be taken to a foreign country for several years of their lives. This emphasizes in a more dramatic form the problem that many a family in the United States faces in deciding whether to move to another state or another city. It has arisen throughout the decades in this country, where we have such high geographic mobility, and it has taken on a somewhat acute form in the shift from rural to urban living.

I shall not enumerate the dangers to family living and, in particular, to children in these migrations. There are the normal economic dangers of unemployment and unstable incomes involved either as causes or results of these migrations. However, over and beyond these there is a question of whether the transfer of the home and the tearing away of the children from their friends and playmates has serious consequences for family living.

This is a factor to which we must pay increasing attention because there are no signs of any lessening in geographic mobility. In fact, in many occupations, such as those of chemists, biologists, economists, etc., the outstanding characteristic is the existence of a nation-wide labor market with frequent shifting all over the country.

Another factor in living conditions is housing. We have had five years now of spectacular home building, with the construction of over a million houses and apartments a year during the last several years. Yet even this rate of home building has scarcely kept pace with the rise in the number of new families. We still have not made up the deficit which was brought about by the depression in

the 1930s and the war in the 1940s. The nation is still some years away from a reasonably adequate supply of housing for American families.

There is the further factor of quality and location of existing housing. A considerable proportion of today's homes and apartments are obsolete by any standards applicable to our American economy. If the standard of living continues to rise, we could readily achieve a second housing boom after the present one is over. By the "present" one I mean the achievement of a supply of dwellings necessary to house existing families. The second boom would be that involved in rehousing a large proportion of those families.

Finally, there is the problem of the size of houses in relation to the size of families. Due to the smaller families of the past quarter century or more, the home-building industry has tended to concentrate on building two- and three-room apartments and small houses. But the birth rates of the last two years have shown that the new American family is going to consist of three, four, and even five children. This should lead to a change in the nature of home construction with emphasis upon housing for larger families.

Again, for purposes of this discussion, all that I need do is indicate that housing is a very important factor in family living. A great deal is now being done to provide adequate housing; but there is still a long way to go, and there are additional problems which will have to be met in the housing field.

On the subject of living conditions, there is one more point worth noting, namely, the problem of the respective locations of the home and the job. The tightness of the housing market has some bearing on this since it limits the possibilities of bringing the two close together for the typical family. However, housing is only a part of this problem. In the growth of our cities there has been a tendency to concentrate commerce and industry in the central core of the metropolitan area, with suburbs stretching away out into the country. The effect has been to create a major transportation problem. I am not referring to commuting and parking with their attendant difficulties but rather to the time required in the process of getting to and from the job. Over the years we have persistently

reduced the hours of work. The forty-hour week is the common work week in American industry and commerce. The five-day week has become fairly common; however, the time required in getting to and from work has tended to increase. In many cases, the eight-hour day on the job means eleven and twelve hours for the wage earner outside the home. This is, of course, important for working mothers, but it is also a matter of significance for the fathers as well. Successful home living involves participation of the father to a greater degree than is now prevalent. Part of the difficulty is due to the long hours spent in transportation.

There has developed in recent years a trend in industry toward decentralization, that is, toward location of plants in widely scattered suburban communities in such a way that workers in the plant can live a short distance from their work.

The world situation.—Most adult Americans have experienced two world wars. We are familiar with dislocations of family life brought about by war. However, we of the 1950s are becoming aware of a longer-run, peacetime risk to family life which derives from world tensions. This has been emphasized in part by the half-war which we are conducting in Korea. But even if Korea should be solved, we see looming ahead of us the prospects of maintaining a large, standing military establishment, several years of military service for almost all young men, and large-scale American activity in many parts of the world.

Consider the problems of the young men and women of today. Every able-bodied young man has to consider how and when he shall take his military service. Should he join up soon and enter the service of his choice? Should he try to finish his education and then take his chances with selective service? Should he get married before he goes into military service, or would it be better to wait? What about his future career? Should he choose an occupation which is highly recommended for the emergency of these critical years, or should he follow his natural interest into something that seems less significant now? Should he fit his occupation into the possibility of a military career?

These and a thousand other problems face the youth of today, the youth who are to constitute the families of tomorrow. In com-

paring the situations of these young people with those which we ourselves faced years ago, we older people cannot help but be impressed by the critical nature of the problems which our young people are now facing. The point I want to emphasize is that there is a basic uncertainty pervading their lives. People rise comparatively easily to the crisis of war. It is infinitely more difficult to live patiently with the sword of Damocles hanging over one's head. Our young people face difficult choices in determining upon their careers and their families.

Of course, one solution would be to bring about peace and order in the world. We are obviously doing all that we know how to do to bring this about. Surely there is no difference of opinion among the American people about the desirability of this objective. There are differences of opinion as to how best to do it. And of course we cannot be absolutely sure that we can achieve it. In other words, in spite of all our efforts, a third world war may come.

But even if it does not come, we may be for many years in a state of tension and emergency. We may have to adapt ourselves to a dangerous international situation. If this is so, then we must learn to live with it successfully. This means the maintenance of successful family living and the rearing of children under the best circumstances that we can devise. The contribution which we older people can make is to be patient with the young people on whom a great deal of this burden will fall. We need a much greater understanding than we have of the problems which confront them in the very beginning of their adult lives. Perhaps, too, we can put our mature brains to work to discover improved ways of ordering our social and economic life. Surely it should be clear to us that our future as a nation is dependent upon the successful solution of these new problems and new dangers to family living.

The Revolution in Human Affairs

By ISADOR LUBIN

I AM GOING TO TALK in terms of revolution.

Do not be alarmed—at least, not yet. The revolution that I am going to talk about has been going on for over three hundred years. It is the revolution in human affairs that has resulted from the consistent application of free inquiry and free enterprise to natural and to human problems. It is the revolution by way of science and technology, a revolution that has changed—and will continue to change—the basic fabric of our lives. The most spectacular result of this revolution is the conviction of our generation that nature—yes, even human nature—is, in the larger part, controllable; that neither poverty nor disease is inevitable; that fatalism is an outmoded ethic; and that life, liberty, and the achievement of happiness are within the reach of all.

In the twentieth century two powerful forces have emerged that have put brakes on this revolution—forces that have attempted to use it for purposes other than bettering the lot of mankind. One of these counterrevolutionary forces was fascism, which is still trying to raise its head in certain areas. The other is present-day Communism, especially the Soviet imperialistic type. Despite these, the continuing revolution goes on. It goes on in our own country. It goes on in Western Europe. Within recent decades it has vastly affected the lives of people in the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America.

It is to the effect of this revolution on these underdeveloped countries and peoples that I want to draw your attention.

In the spring of 1952 the United Nations published the first report in history on the social conditions prevailing over the globe. It is over four hundred pages in length. Some of it is technical, but much of it is very readable. Here is just one short extract from that report:

To an extent which might have seemed inconceivable even fifty years ago, there has come increasing recognition that 2,400 million people have somehow to contrive to live together, and share together the resources of the earth; that the general impoverishment of any area is a matter of concern to all areas; and that the technical experience and knowledge acquired in rapidly changing industrialized societies have somehow to be made available to those communities that are less advanced and less well-equipped.

The report quotes from a distinguished historian to the effect that in the broad sweep, the twentieth century will be chiefly remembered in future centuries not as an age of political conflicts or technical inventions, but as an age in which human society dared to think of the welfare of the whole human race as a practicable objective. This objective of over-all human welfare is not only a practical objective. It is also a vitally necessary one. As the report continues:

Simultaneous with the growth of an international ethic of mutual aid, there has spread among impoverished peoples of the world an awareness—heightened by modern communications and movements of men—that higher standards of living not only exist for others but are possible for themselves. Fatalistic resignation to poverty and disease is giving way to the demand for a better life. The demand is groping and uncertain in direction, charged with conflicting emotions regarding the old and the new, but it is nonetheless a force that is establishing an irreversible trend in history.

And there we have the nub of our problem. People everywhere, and especially in the underdeveloped countries, no longer accept hunger, disease, and misery with fatalism or despair. They demand that their conditions be improved.

Thus, the revolution which has affected us for over three hundred years is now changing them. It is a revolution that has brought hope and a greater degree of good will between peoples than has ever existed before. But it has also brought problems, formidable problems. As the Secretary of State, Mr. Acheson, has noted, these problems are of as great importance—and perhaps of even more continuing importance—as the current conflict that is raging between the Soviet Union and the free world. Upon their adequate solution hangs the possibility of peace, not only in this century but in the next.

Now, what are the problems that arise out of the impact of what we have called the "continuing revolution" upon the people of the underdeveloped countries? There are, in the first place, the appalling conditions under which most of these people live. There are, secondly, the false but glittering promises held out to them by Soviet agents. And, thirdly, there are the explosive forces of nationalism, often accompanied by memories of cruel racial discrimination, which also play into Soviet hands.

Let us take a look at the first problem. One of the primary results of the continuing revolution is, of course, demographic. As the UN report states, the population of the world has now grown to some 2,400,000,000 persons. It is growing at a rate that exceeds one percent per year. The new population amounts annually to from 26,000,000 to 32,000,000. This is about equal to the population of Spain. It is considered likely that the peak of acceleration which has been going on for two decades now has been reached. But even at the present rate of growth the population problems are immense.

Associated with this population problem is one that is equally dangerous, that is the wide disparity in the conditions of life among these nearly 2,500,000,000 persons. Half the population of the world lives in Asia, but they receive only 11 percent of the world income. In North America, which contains about 10 percent of the population, the people earn nearly 45 percent of the world's income. Africa has 8 percent of the population and 3 percent of the income; the remainder of the world—Europe, the Soviet Union, and Oceania—has 25 percent of the population and 40 percent of the income. The tragic fact is that these disparities are widening rather than narrowing.

Sixty percent of the world's population depends on agriculture for a livelihood, but in underdeveloped countries the percentage ranges up to 80 percent. In many instances these farmers are crowded to the point where the so-called "rural" population is packed into what virtually constitutes an endless village. In Japan, despite the enlightened land reform program initiated under the American occupation, an average of 698 persons lives on every square kilometer of cultivated land. In Egypt, 500 persons live on each square kilometer in the Nile Valley. On the island of Java in

Indonesia, the density is 360 persons. The comparable figure for the United States is 21 persons.

In such circumstances, life is bitter and hostile, and where it is not bitter and hostile, when press and radio bring new concepts and new ambitions to these teeming millions, such conditions become the breeding ground for violent revolution of which the Soviets are the prime exponents in the present age.

The first and most important problem which confronts these people is the life-and-death matter of food. To compound this problem is the fact that both in Europe and Asia restoration of destruction caused by the Second World War has not been fully completed. This damage was not only to the land. Livestock and machinery were destroyed or carried off, buildings burned, storage capacity destroyed, processing plants ripped up, and the skills of the people diverted. In Asia, production of rice, which constitutes 70 percent of the food in that area, still is 2.5 percent below prewar levels. In contrast, the population is up 10 percent. Europe, with the aid of the Marshall Plan and, more recently, of Mutual Security funds, has shown the best comeback. Nevertheless, despite increased output in the United States and Canada, food production per person the world over is today less than it was before the war.

So, we have three items on the negative side of the balance: enormously increasing population; dangerous diversities among conditions of life; and, despite all the improvements that have been brought to bear, dangerous underproduction of food.

Hand in hand with these goes a more positive item—world-wide improvement in health. Modern methods of medicine and the treatment of disease have contributed to a lowering of death rates, which in some instances—Puerto Rico, for example—have dropped as much as 50 percent in a relatively few years. The discovery of DDT and similar chemicals has made it possible to eliminate malaria from Italy, Brazil, and Ceylon. These are actual accomplishments. Yet 300,000,000 persons still continue to suffer from malaria, and, of these, three million die annually. The discovery of penicillin has enabled attacks on other mass diseases. Yaws, which once was rampant over most of the land area between the two tropics, now can be stamped out at a modest cost per person.

Developments such as these have the effect of increasing total population. But, and this is the hopeful side, these developments can at the same time be a factor in increasing the food supply. A farmer free of malaria is better able physically to attend his crops.

I have mentioned merely the principal aspects of the broad panorama of how the world lives. I have not mentioned the very severe shortage of housing—a shortage which contributes to such basic ills of society as disease, delinquency, and other maladjustments. It is estimated that the world housing deficiency amounts to 180,000,000 dwelling units.

Nor have I mentioned other special problems that still confront many countries as a result of the war. In Yugoslavia, for example, 600,000 out of 6,000,000 children—that is to say, one out of ten—have lost one or both parents.

Nor have I mentioned the refugees who have fled or been driven from their homes—by the Nazis before and during the war, and later by the Soviets and their satellites.

The facts that I have sketched, however, both the positive and the negative, are the source of a world-wide development upon which I touched earlier. This development might be termed the revival of hope and the demand for human betterment among the poorest people in the world. This demand for betterment, a direct result of the continuing revolution, marks the destruction of fatalism among these people. Individuals whose ancestors accepted poverty and early death as inevitable have now become conscious of the fact that there are new tools and new skills to combat their misery. Progressively they are becoming aware that with the developments of modern science and modern know-how, and with their own inherent skills and ingenuity, their conditions can be made to improve.

To me, the mere statement of these facts is sufficient evidence that the American people cannot go on blithely unaware of them; for in this demand by the underdeveloped peoples for higher standards of living there lies a great challenge and also a great peril for the United States and the free world generally.

Let us look at these perils. The first, I think, is familiar to all of us. It comes from the attempt by the Soviet Union to persuade

these awakening peoples that only under Communism can their hopes for human betterment be achieved. "Land for the landless," the Communists cry. Suffering peasants, landless and burdened with debt, greet this cry sympathetically. For how are these peasants to know the falsity of these Soviet promises? That Communist-style land reform leads not to the individual homestead and freedom, but to collectivization and forced labor? And the Communists have other slogans, all of them hand-tailored to area requirements, and all of them attractive to the awakening peoples of the world.

Professor A. S. Bokhari, Pakistan's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, recently told a group of students that "a hungry man will choose four sandwiches instead of four freedoms." In saying this, Professor Bokhari oversimplifies a very complex problem. Still, it points to a truth which needs to be dramatized. Arguments dealing with individual freedom do not directly improve the peasant's conditions of life. If he or anyone else, be he a teacher, or even a social worker, is to be immunized against the promises of Communist propaganda, the free governments of the world must have an action program in which these people can see with their own eyes that their lot is improving.

That is the first problem: how to immunize these hundreds of millions of people against the glittering promises that are daily made to them; promises that lead, not to individual dignity and spiritual freedom, but, as the Chinese and East European peoples are now discovering, to slave camps and regimentation.

But above and beyond the Communist problem there lies a danger that I think too few of us have considered. Even if the Soviets were to collapse tomorrow, the problems that confront people of the underdeveloped countries would not disappear. And even if Soviet totalitarianism came to an end, the wretchedness that prevails in so many parts of the world, if allowed to continue, could result in a series of new ideologies that in the light of the next century might make the totalitarianisms of this century seem pale.

These are the two perils that confront us—one from the Communists and the other from ideologies to come. But in the very nature of these perils there are opportunities. For, from the revolu-

tion that has brought us these perils there has also come the insight and the demand that free governments collaborate with each other in the solution of these problems. We have the tools with which to do this. We need only intensify their use. But unless we in the United States appreciate the need for such intensive use in its fullest meaning, and act accordingly, it is clear that the revolution I have described will take courses which are inimical, and even disastrous, to the one we ourselves in large part initiated.

The tools, methods, and resources to prevent this are primarily those already available in the underdeveloped countries themselves. Their accelerated use depends less on the expenditure of billions of dollars than on employing the billions of hands which are now unemployed, or wastefully employed. Their accelerated use depends on our ability to stimulate in these peoples the spirit of unfettered inquiry and independent enterprise which has helped us so much in the solution of our own problems. We must help give them confidence in their own ability to help themselves. By our faith in the ability, ingenuity, and dignity of the individual we have built and are continuing to build for ourselves a strong and humane society. With our help, others can do the same.

This is a formidable problem, of course. But on balance it is much less formidable than the problem we will face if the Soviets succeed in absorbing these people or, indeed, than the problems we would ultimately face if some other and equally vicious ideology were to supplant the Soviet brand. The problem is particularly formidable because the art of helping people in a way that strengthens rather than weakens their ability to help themselves is not readily learned. It is much easier to do things for people than to show them how to do things for themselves, to hand them bread rather than to help them arrive at a stage where they can raise their own wheat and make their own flour. However, in the process of assisting people to improve their conditions of living, it is often possible that a single person can be a leavening influence for an entire community. For example, he can stimulate people to define for themselves what problems most concern them. He can arouse hopes that those problems are soluble. And when people are ready to

act, he can put them in touch with the specialized facilities or services that will help toward a successful outcome.

The sort of person to whom I refer might be considered, to use a social welfare term, a "community organizer," or perhaps a more accurate term would be "community consultant." Whatever the term, he should be a person who has the ability and skills—agricultural, educational, public health, and social welfare—to foster individual and social growth and to work with organizations and groups. It is here that the experts in social welfare come in. In the years to come, what has been called the "revolution of rising expectations" among the people of the underdeveloped countries will have an important effect on your own profession. By this I mean that to cope with the mass problems of a humanity numbering in the billions requires a revolution, both in our social welfare methods and in our social welfare training programs. Nowhere on earth are social welfare techniques so far advanced as in the United States. Our caseworkers reach to the heart of the family, to the individual, to the particular mental or physical illnesses with which a family may be afflicted. They seek and find the intimate, personal causes of maladjustment and of poverty. We are a rich and highly developed nation. We can afford these things.

In dealing with the underdeveloped masses of humanity, these methods will not work. The man or the woman who goes to India, or Iraq, or Brazil, or Burma finds he has no time for painstaking personal investigations. He must become a general practitioner in social welfare. He must literally roll up his sleeves and pitch in. He must himself demonstrate how to dig a sewer or how to bathe a baby. His every move must count toward the objective of improving the health or the housing or the literacy of an entire village, or an entire region.

The problems of these areas are immense. The world has neither the skilled manpower nor the money to send specialists in psychiatry, in juvenile delinquency, in health and sanitation, to teach large numbers of people in underdeveloped areas to approach their problems in the way we do ours. That sort of thing may be possible fifty years from now. It is not possible today. What is required today is what I have called "general social welfare" practitioners. The

individual worker who can adapt himself to strange surroundings in a strange country, who can sense the needs of the community and awaken the interest and energy of the inhabitants to a sustained effort in their own behalf—that kind of person is the one who is most needed in the fight against the misery that is so widespread.

In appraising these problems, and your relation to it, you must reread your own history; you must take yourself back over half a century, to the days of Jane Addams at Hull House in Chicago. You must go back to Lillian Wald at the Henry Street Settlement House in New York, and Robert Woods at South End House in Boston. I ask you to recall their methods, along with those of the other founders and early general practitioners of community welfare. These old-timers among the pioneers of your profession went to work as though they were moving into a disaster area. They saw the immense need and they pitched into the job with the aim of accomplishing as much as possible, as soon as possible. Intelligence and simple ingenuity were their tools, together with their belief that if given a chance, men and women of many different varieties can accomplish wonders for their own good. The same spirit and unlimited resourcefulness were required of social workers in the first operating agency of the United Nations, namely, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, when they had to deal with the miseries of millions of refugees and displaced persons.

A similar challenge is presented to American social workers and schools of social work today, a challenge presented to us by our own sense of humanity and by the sufferings and needs of uncounted millions of people. But beyond that is the fact that unless we do something about these people, and do it quickly and efficiently, they may succumb to temptations and ideologies that will be a threat to our own way of life.

Thus, we are faced not with a single, but rather a double challenge to our intelligence and good will. With all our strength we must help in the task of resisting oppression from whatever source. And with all our strength we must help emancipate men and women from the bondage of hunger, disease, and ignorance. Both are vital. Success in one will contribute to success in the other.

Building the Economic Base for Better Living throughout the World

By NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER

WHILE I HAVE BEEN WORKING IN A DIFFERENT FIELD, namely, that relating to the problems of basic economic development at home and abroad, our goals and those of social work have been very much the same. Through different channels both have been working for the well-being of our fellow men. It seems to me that there is a mutuality of interest, and that our experience might have some collateral value in the discussions of the National Conference of Social Work.

Right after the war a group of us set up two corporations, one philanthropic and the other a business company, to be used as vehicles through which to undertake experimental work in the field of international economic and social development.

In the charter of the philanthropic organization, the American International Association, its purpose was set forth as follows:

Based upon a faith in the inherent dignity and worth of the individual and in the capacity and desire for self-improvement of human beings of whatever nationality, race, creed, or color, and upon a conviction that the welfare of each nation and person in the modern world is closely related to the welfare and opportunities for advancement of all the people of the world, this Association is organized for the purpose of promoting self-development and better standards of living, together with understanding and cooperation, among peoples throughout the world.

The general objectives of the business corporation, known as the International Basic Economy Corporation, are set forth in its charter as follows:

Desiring in association with others to promote the economic development of various parts of the world, to increase the production and availability of goods, things and services useful to the lives or livelihood

of their peoples, and thus to better their standards of living, and believing that these aims can be furthered through a corporation dedicated to their fulfillment and employing scientific and modern methods and techniques. . . .

While an infinite amount of work has been done in the various fields dedicated to helping those in need, both at home and abroad, our objective was consciously to experiment with those economic and social factors leading to the removal of the causes of poverty, hunger, sickness, and illiteracy. Our method has been to study the economy of a country or region, find out where and what the bottlenecks were which were holding back its development and the rising of the standard of living of its people. The next step was to set up services and units of production to break these bottlenecks and release the natural creative forces of the area.

As in the field of medicine, in which the emphasis is increasingly shifting from the cure to the prevention of disease, so in the field of human welfare we felt that there were tremendous opportunities for constructive progress through institutions dedicated to the removal of the causes of social disabilities in addition to institutions dedicated to their care and alleviation. It has become increasingly clear to us that a major factor in developing the preventive approach to social and economic maladjustment is the creation of conditions that will promote a healthy and progressive economic expansion in which all members of the society share in just measure.

In the last analysis it must inevitably be the dominant aim of all who are concerned with human welfare to work for a society that consistently and dynamically produces an increasing return of the goods, opportunities, and leisure that contribute constructively to the satisfaction of peoples' needs. Even the remedial services must be provided out of our current production of goods and services.

All over the world there are examples of social legislation and private welfare endeavors of the most forward-looking and well-intentioned types that remain "paper programs" or give completely inadequate coverage because the communities that establish them are not sufficiently productive to support them. A genuine and broadening measure of human welfare is what matters, and wel-

fare programs and welfare work, despite their intrinsic importance and spiritual worth, should be regarded primarily as instruments to that end.

Let us examine briefly the record of this genuine and broadening measure of human welfare in our own country since the turn of the century.

I think it is fair to say that the United States, among the nations of the world, has had resources and developed a set of economic institutions that are outstanding in their demonstrated capacity to produce an increasing per capita return of the goods and services required to satisfy human needs. By and large, these returns have been distributed in a fashion that has benefited all segments of our society.

The distribution of the national income in 1949 showed that about two thirds of it went to employees in the form of wages and salaries, about one sixth to the self-employed, and about one sixth to the owners of property in the form of corporate profits, interest on indebtedness, and the rental of real estate. Because only a small fraction of the income of the self-employed is a return for capital invested, something over four fifths of our total output consists of payments to individual workers.

Upon the past patterns of distribution, which have been remarkably consistent, a continued increase in output per man hour of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ percent per year, which has been the past average, should double the real wages of workers in the next thirty years. However, the continued increase in real wages depends upon the continuing supply of adequate investment capital and also on the continuing improvement of management, the training of workers, the introduction of better production methods and research. To enlist the best efforts of workers and of management, and to elicit the investment of savings in productive capital, the maintenance of incentives is of primary importance. It is upon this that the dynamic character of our economy has depended in the past and will depend in the future.

Another significant fact is that over the past fifteen years small incomes have increased by considerably greater percentages than large incomes. While accomplishing this, we have managed to cut

down the average working time of our population by almost one-third in the last fifty years and thus have increased the time afforded for leisure—an indispensable element in the provision of a good life.

We have made significant gains in the health of our population over the past fifty years, one evidence of which is the fact that the life expectancy at birth has increased about seventeen years since the beginning of the century.

We have greatly broadened the base of educational opportunities. From 1890 to 1949 the number of students in high schools increased 9.5 times as fast as the country's population, and the numbers in college increased 3.5 times as fast.

Public and private welfare expenditures within the United States increased sixfold (measured in dollars of constant purchasing power) between 1929 and 1949. During this period our national income increased by not quite 150 percent, but our total social welfare payments increased by over 600 percent.

Over these years there has been a tremendous shift between the percentage of funds for welfare projects supplied by private and public sources. In 1929 private benefactions accounted for 57 percent of the total, and public 43 percent of the total. In 1949 private benefactions supplied only 19 percent of the total as against 81 percent from public sources. However, interestingly enough, this was not caused by a decrease in private giving, but rather by a tremendous increase in public expenditures from approximately \$2,000,000,000 in 1929 to \$18,000,000,000 in 1949. During the same period private philanthropic giving increased from \$1,250,000,000 to \$4,000,000,000. The percentage of our total national income that was devoted to private and public domestic welfare programs rose from 2.1 percent in 1929 to 7 percent in 1949.

One other statistic which is important relates to the breakdown of the support of private philanthropies between contributions of individuals and contributions of corporations. In 1929 corporations contributed \$32,000,000 and individuals contributed \$1,200,000,000. By 1949 corporate contributions had increased over 600 percent to \$239,000,000, and individual contributions over 200 percent to \$3,791,000,000. While individual contributions were

still fifteen times as great as corporate contributions, corporate contributions are showing a much more rapid rate of growth—a very healthy indication.

In order to establish a balance between the increase of social welfare expenditures and the increase in wages, the following comparison is interesting.

From 1929 to 1949 the annual rate of expenditures for private and public welfare activities in this country increased by \$12,500,000,000. Over the same period the total compensation of wage and salary earners in the United States increased by \$71,000,000,000. Both of these comparisons are given in the equivalent of 1949 dollars and hence are strictly comparable. The comparison shows that on the domestic front the increase in purchasing power afforded all workers in the form of the purchasing power of their wage payments amounted to almost six times the increase in social welfare payments made available to them from public and private sources combined.

These and many more statistics can be cited to show the great human gains that have been derived from the extraordinary expansion of our national production. However, any discussion today of the basic economic factors affecting the standard of living of the people in the United States must take into consideration the relatively new factor of our growing dependence on the other nations and peoples. To an increasing degree we are learning that however vitally important our own national welfare, it cannot stand alone in the world.

Partly, this expansion of the dimension of the welfare horizon is an outgrowth of spiritual values that have influenced the shaping of our internal affairs. Quite naturally, these values have been extended increasingly beyond our national boundaries through our growing awareness of the problems of other peoples in a world that has shrunk in dimension through the swift and facile means of transport and communication in the modern world.

Partly, our broadened interest in others stems from the factual realization that our national interest, progress, and security are vitally entwined with the interests, progress, and security of other areas.

When Karl Marx developed the thesis of the inevitability of revolt in nations that had achieved a high degree of capitalistic development, he premised it upon the concept that, under capitalism, the rich would become richer and the poor poorer, until the explosion point was reached. The fact that things have not developed in this pattern is due in large part to the fact that the distribution of income has not in the least conformed to the Marxian prediction. This has been demonstrated in particularly clear terms in the United States, where all segments of the population have reaped broad benefits from the progressive upward trend of our national production.

However, as between nations the record is not so good. There is some disquieting evidence to document a thesis that some nations of the world, and the United States in particular, are steadily increasing their per capita income while others, particularly among those in the so-called "underdeveloped areas," are not making sufficient economic progress to hold, let alone increase, the per capita levels of living of the masses of their populations. This disparity, not alone in levels, but also in trends, is bound to create unrest and turmoil, and the evidence of this is widely apparent in the world today.

One thing that too few Americans realize is the extraordinary shift that has taken place in our own economy as a result of the tremendous expansion in our industrial capacity. Before the First World War we used to be a great exporter of raw materials and an importer of manufactured goods. Today, because of the expansion of our industrial plant and its unparalleled increase in consumption of raw materials, we are dependent upon areas outside our borders for about a third of the basic minerals used in our industries.

In other words, we are no longer self-sufficient. We are no longer economically independent of the rest of the world. Our national security both from the point of view of social well-being as well as from the point of view of military strength depends on the cooperation of the other free nations of the world. If through disruption or alienation these supplies of raw materials were cut off, the effect upon the economy of the United States would be

devastating. Similarly, if the economies of the world upon which we are dependent do not progress with a pace comparable to ours, it will not be possible for us to preserve the progressively upward trend of our economy which is essential to our continuing economic health.

To an important extent, the other nations of the world similarly are dependent upon the continued strength and vitality of the United States economy. The economies of these other countries are crucially dependent upon United States exports of food, machinery, and equipment, which represent 20 percent of the total exports of the world. At the same time, our imports of the products of other nations help supply them with the necessary foreign exchange to buy the things which as yet they do not manufacture themselves.

Throughout the world it is widely recognized that the maintenance of a strong United States economy, and particularly its resulting foreign trade, is essential to the maintenance and growth of the economies of most of the other peoples of the world. The people of the United States are to an increasing degree learning what is meant by a genuine community of interest with other peoples, and more and more this conviction is being translated into established foreign policy of the United States.

The aid, public and private, afforded by the United States to peoples outside our borders increased twelvefold, in dollars of constant purchasing power, between 1929 and 1949, and it has been stepped up to even higher levels since. Thus, the principle that historically has motivated our public and private welfare programs upon a domestic plane has been extended far beyond national boundaries. In 1949 public and private foreign aid offered by the United States amounted to a full 40 percent of the total private philanthropic contributions and public benefit and aid payments to domestic programs, including veterans payments. This is a clear indication of the degree to which we have recognized a community of interest with all who are ready to join in a community of interest with us. It constitutes a demonstration upon a scale and to a degree that has never been paralleled in world history.

But it is important for us to recognize as fully in the foreign field

as in the domestic that to be effective our aim must be to establish conditions that will make philanthropic aid less necessary. The ultimate test will be found in evidences that we have helped to make the economies of others progressively more productive, that we are helping them to help themselves rather than supplying a permanent crutch upon which they can lean. The goal, domestic and foreign alike, should be to promote economies and social institutions under which self-reliant people are able to provide for their own needs. This goal is the highest expression of a genuine spirit of community of interest.

As one reviews this evolution as it applies to our internal growth as well as to our foreign relations, one must conclude that the devotion of the people of the United States throughout their history to the social welfare of the less fortunate has been a major factor in the present strength and vitality of the country. This social awareness and humanitarian concern, coupled with the extraordinary economic advances made under our free competitive system operating within the framework of progressive legislation as we have seen, have achieved for the people of the United States the most advanced state of material human well-being known to man.

However, we must not become complacent because of past achievements nor must we fail to take into consideration the fundamental economic, social, and political changes that are taking place at home and abroad; nor the new problems arising out of the interdependence among nations and peoples. Patterns of thought and action must not be allowed to become static. This is a time of fundamental change. Only through constantly broadening our perspective and deepening our understanding can we make the long-range plans essential to meeting future needs.

Seen in perspective, it is clear that the great progress that has been made toward the goal of dignity and well-being for all has been achieved by concurrent action through four channels:

1. Through the pioneering efforts of voluntary agencies and religious groups in all fields of social service who have devoted themselves so effectively to the care and well-being of the underprivileged with the support of private funds
2. Through the expanding government work in those fields of

social service which have come to be accepted as a responsibility of government, supported by income from taxation

3. Through the dynamic expansion of industrial and agricultural production which are, through enlightened business practice and constructive labor union activity, moving toward the elimination of most of the social and economic maladjustments which caused much of the poverty

4. Through the farsighted action by federal and state governments in shaping social legislation which is insuring that all share in this expanding production.

It is the combined impact of these four phases of our national life which has raised to such a high level the standard of living and well-being of the people of this country.

It is interesting to note that the activities carried out by the voluntary agencies and the government social services have mainly been directed to the immediate care and relief of the underprivileged, while in contrast, the forces operating through private industry and social legislation have struck at the causes of poverty and need. Even though there is this difference in approach to the problem, the effectiveness of the action through all four of these channels was basically made possible by the tremendous growth and expansion of our national economy. Without this great productivity there would not have been the growing contributions to the voluntary agencies, the larger funds for social services from taxation, or the steadily increasing employment, higher wages and other benefits. However, the challenge that is before us is how to keep moving forward; how to extend our progress toward the goals of human dignity and well-being in the face of Russian imperialism and the military burden which it has imposed on the free world.

If the above conclusions are sound, it would seem to me that we are led by their logic to the following recommendations:

1. That major attention be given by Congress to legislation which will stimulate the continued sound growth and expansion of our national economic life: Adequate incentives for capital formation and new business development, the stimulation of research and increased production, together with the preservation of healthy competition are essential to higher standards of living, greater op-

portunity, and the expansion of social services, both private and public.

2. That the United States give more effective leadership in the development of a continuing cooperative program for economic and social development and rising standards of living throughout the free world: The growing dependence of our industrial strength on imported raw materials and foreign trade makes this imperative from the point of view of our own future security and well-being. Unrelated emergency programs of economic aid and technical assistance to meet individual crises are not enough.

3. That there be a major increase in corporate giving to voluntary agencies: Individual contributions can no longer meet the growing needs of voluntary agencies if we are going to preserve their vitality and independence, their unique capacity for research and pioneering work. Total annual savings of business concerns have long since passed the total annual savings of individuals in this country. However, in 1949 individuals were still giving over fifteen times as much money for philanthropic purposes as corporations. The savings which corporations annually put aside for reinvestment after the payment of taxes and dividends carry with them great social as well as financial responsibilities.

4. That we must guard against government, in its zeal to be of service to the people, using its great financial resources to duplicate, or encroach upon, private philanthropic activities in the fields in which they are doing an effective job: These private voluntary activities must not be undermined. We must preserve the great democratic heritage of this country—the individual assumption of responsibility and the voluntary association of people in their common interest.

5. That greater emphasis and research in the future be devoted to the basic causes of poverty or degradation of the underprivileged without, however, minimizing the importance of the work dedicated to their relief: The effective achievement of this goal depends on far greater cooperation among voluntary groups, business and labor, the government agencies, and the legislators. The interrelation of the action of these groups is so intimate that without planning and close cooperation among them, their work may

often nullify rather than support their individual activities in seeking the common goal.

6. That we rededicate ourselves in this work to the spiritual and moral heritage which has been the guiding force of our nation: Without the inspiration of these values, without the courage to love, material might will gain us little at home and in the long run will create fear and distrust abroad.

By thus broadening our approach to the basic goals and by integrating our individual efforts, we may well achieve the basis for a new national unity and a much needed sense of common purpose.

As we examine these problems in perspective, we begin to see that perhaps our idealism on the one hand and our realism on the other are not basically in conflict, that our spiritual heritage and our material progress do not necessarily work at cross purposes, but rather that they are part of a whole. The challenge before us is to keep them in balance, to use the strength and vitality, the creative force of their counterpoise.

Some people would have us believe that in the present emergency we cannot afford to concern ourselves with these problems, that the only thing that counts is military strength, but I say that their careful consideration was never more essential than today. In the face of the threat of Russian imperialism the underprivileged of the free world both at home and abroad must have tangible and continuing evidence of our spiritual and moral dedication to this cause.

Through wholehearted dedication to these objectives we can achieve a new level of service to mankind. For us as a nation and a people it will give new meaning and direction, an integration of spiritual and material forces, a much needed sense of common purpose and identification with mankind throughout the world.

For the people of other nations it will give a new sense of faith and hope, a feeling that human values really count, that the well-being of the individual has meaning, that all power is not just to dominate and crush, but that love, justice, and mercy really are the guiding forces of the free world—the only forces which, in the long run, neither the armies of oppression nor the chains of slavery can withstand.

Democracy's Offering in a World of Conflicting Values

By ALAN VALENTINE

SOME YEARS AGO I gave a series of addresses at the University of Mexico on our concepts of democracy, and in bad Spanish at that. Few Mexicans exposed themselves to that ordeal, and the audience consisted chiefly of homesick girls from Smith College on their junior year abroad. As a result, there was no striking elevation of democratic ideals in Mexico or of the quality of spoken Spanish in Northampton. This, I fear, is typical of most of our presentations of American democracy; we preach only to souls already saved, and in language others do not understand.

So I shall not talk about our democracy, but about our failure to export it to Asia, and some of the reasons why.

For our brand of freedom is not being widely accepted in Asia. Only recently have we begun to discover the full extent of Asian reservations about America. In our innocence—or perhaps in our conceit—we had believed that any intelligent human being, anywhere, would reach with enthusiasm for American democracy if he could get it. But Asians by scores of millions are looking over our brand of freedom very cautiously, even suspiciously, and their comments, more critical than polite, are often a shock to our complacency.

Until recently, I at least had thought that all Asia was divided into three parts: Russian-led Communists whom we must oppose; Asians reluctantly enslaved by Communism and longing for a freedom like our own; and those remaining hundreds of millions who would naturally be using us as the model on which they would work out their democratic ways of life. But many Asians now under the Communist yoke give surprisingly little evidence that they detest it; many other Asians regard Communism as only a little

worse than Western materialism, colonialism, and Caucasian supremacy; and millions more who hate Communism seem to prefer nervous neutrality to any alliance with us.

These are unpleasant facts, and we must face still more of them. For one thing, we are numerically a tiny minority of the world's population—about 4 percent—and a decreasing minority at that, as Asian birth rates exceed our own and as we help Asian death rates to decline. Only our economic productivity makes us a major factor in world power politics.

We are also geographically remote from those areas where the future of civilization is being decided. We are further than any other continent except South America from the greatest undeveloped human and power resources—and there the crucial struggle between freedom and slavery now nears a climax. Only by an expenditure of time and resources far beyond that required of our chief world rival can we overcome, if at all, the handicap of distance.

What is more, we are also in the minority in our ideology. Though the ultimate principles for which we profess to stand are honored elsewhere, at least in lip service, our concept of how to realize those ideals is viewed with doubt, suspicion, and even fear by much of the other 96 percent of humanity. Our concept of the good life, and of the inseparability of religious, political, and economic freedom, is openly or secretly challenged almost everywhere.

We thought we were generally recognized as the greatest and most benevolent exponent of human freedom. The record of history, as we read it, offers proof of that. But we are not so regarded even by many whom we think of as our friends. Many of them are, quite wrongly, more fearful that we will lead them into war than acquiescent to our offers to lead them into freedom. Some six hundred million people in India, the Philippines, Pakistan, Indonesia, Burma, and Ceylon, having established their freedom from external domination, are extremely sensitive about turning to us for guidance, if our guidance means our political influence. What they hope to make of themselves seems to them better than what we can offer to make of them.

We, who thought that such offers of friendship to newly freed

Asia were a generous gesture to be warmly received, have been a little surprised. We, who thought that, friendship wholly apart, new Asia would for its own freedom promptly line up and sign up with us as declared allies against Russian Communism, have been more than surprised. And now we find that many leaders of free Asia, who have even quoted the phrases of Jefferson and Lincoln in founding their new nations, profess to regard the conflict between free democracy and Russian Communism as merely a new phase of power politics with little to choose, politically or ethically, between the contestants. We are baffled and something more. How can this be possible, we ask ourselves. Does not the history of America tell one story, the record of Communist Russia reveal quite another? How can Asian leaders, supported by their wealth of ancient culture and philosophy, be so blind to the moral issues at stake, so ethically confused?

I confess that even after the most sympathetic approach to the Asian problem as Asians see it, I cannot answer those questions. I cannot see how any Asian who loves freedom can refuse to line up with us. But I can understand some of the reasons for their hesitation and confusion, even though the reasons seem inadequate. What Asians do must be their decision and not ours. They may join us the more readily if we do not plead or complain too much.

Asians have longer memories than we, and they recall better than we the whole history of Russian Communism, and the whole history of Western European and American democracy since the First World War, in their respective relations and attitudes toward Asia. Over that period, Russian Communism seems to many Asians to represent a leadership in the struggle of the masses for their freedom far more consistent, sincere, and effective than what we of the Western democracies have offered.

In the minds of most Asians, Western Europe, its history, its actions in Asia, its form of capitalism, is identified with America. And for generations, even for centuries, Western Europe has represented to most Asians the tyranny of colonial imperialism, of materialism, over the culture and aspiration of Asia. This deep resentment against the West and its ways has not vanished simply because Asians have thrown off the outward yoke of Western

domination. Indeed, some Asians who find themselves still inwardly influenced by Western ways and Western standards doubly resent this psychic bondage to their former rulers. And their new political freedom gives Asians greater chance and courage to speak their long-repressed resentments and to assert aggressively their equality with those rulers from the West who often betrayed their sense of their own Western superiority.

During the long period of his mastery over the East, the Westerner concerned himself but little with winning the hearts and understanding of the millions of little men—peasants, artisans, carriers of burdens—in Asia. Now those little men, those myriad masses of average Asians, have become the rulers of their new democracies. They are revealing, to our dismay, that their hearts were not warmed or their understanding won by most men from the West.

For though the struggle of Asians against Western imperialism was primarily political, it came to be merged emotionally with a second great struggle in which the West was only incidentally involved. That was the struggle of the Asian masses for adequate food, shelter, clothing, opportunity, life. To those masses Western imperialism and Western capitalism stood in the way of a decent reward and a decent opportunity. The concepts and methods of many Westerners in Asia also belittled and submerged ancient Asian traditions of art, philosophy, and religion, and hence of national and personal self-respect. We should wonder not that we inherited the whirlwind, but that it has not blown harder at our position in Asia.

In contrast, Russian Communism has consistently courted for thirty years the people—all the people—of Asia. Those people looked with sympathy and hope upon the Russian Revolution. Russia's enemies (the democracies, the capitalists, the rich, the powerful, the Caucasians) seemed to most Asians to be their enemies too. The defiance Russia was shouting, they would have liked to be shouting too. In Asia's long struggle against Western colonial powers, Russia seemed a potential ally. And ever since that revolution, Russia has played well the role of the champion of Asia's oppressed masses.

"Look," says Stalin to Asia's hungry millions, "a generation ago we too were poor, weak, despised, and dominated. Now we are strong and powerful. Though England and America hate and fear us, they now treat us as their equals. We have not gained this equality by pleas; we have compelled it. You too can compel it. The weapon lies in your hands: embrace Communism."

To us, the virtue of our economic system seems proved by its productive power and by what it has given us of wealth and freedom. To many Asians it seems a perpetuation of economic slavery and materialist greed. To us, our free enterprise seems a genial servant; to Asians it seems a fearful genie. To us, it seems an absolute essential to our democratic freedoms; to many Asians it appears a cloak to hide in some new form the Western exploitation they have just escaped. And Russian Communism has made the most of their doubts and fears.

We cannot convince Asia that our free enterprise is good for them until we can make them understand it is not like the capitalism they have known in Asia and have felt from Europe. I came to recognize with the Economic Cooperation Administration in Europe that European capitalism with its monopolist traditions, its cartels, its social irresponsibility, its indifference to the welfare of labor, was a far different thing from our own modern free enterprise system. And European capitalism showed its worst face to Asia. Asians knew too well its faults, its failures, its insecurities. Asians do not know so well how different from all that, our own form of capitalism has become—responsible, progressive, socially conscious, secure. And above all, Asians do not know that these improvements are due not primarily to regulations and controls, but to a new spirit of social responsibility, a new vision of enlightened management, by the leaders of our private enterprise system. They do not know because we have not told them, or included them in the changes. We must demonstrate, in ways beyond production and wealth, the full virtues of our private enterprise, if we would offset the credit the Asian mind gives Russia for destroying capitalism.

But even if we clear the economic ground, there will remain ideological reasons why many Asians are not sure they should declare themselves friends of American democracy and enemies of

Russian Communism. We know that Communism is a vicious system, but most Asians have not been in a position to see as clearly as we what Russia has done to enslave her own people, the Poles, the Czechs, the Hungarians, even the Chinese. Asians have not yet seen the practice of Communists, and their precept still attracts. The precept is well calculated to attract the idealism in many Asians, for it still professes to work toward a classless society under a benevolent state authority, where want, insecurity, and war have been eliminated, and where the nature of man will soon so flower that each man will contribute to society according to his talents and take only according to his needs. Communism and hence Russia still seem to many a misguided Asian to promise world brotherhood and world peace, in which the State itself will ultimately (so it says!) commit euthanasia, since every man will put his fellows first.

We may question the practicality of this dream and the sincerity of those who preach it. But to belittle the ideal itself is to belittle our own Christian heritage and to antagonize all the dreamers, the war haters, and the hungry masses of Asia. What we must do is to help Asians to see the difference between the professed ideal and the actual spirit and practice of Russian Communism. And since we must not destroy one vision without offering a better one, we must show how our own system offers, affirmatively, a happier and most attainable alternative.

There, in broad terms, is the problem. The full answer must come from some far wiser man. But perhaps I can put into words some obvious approaches to the answer.

This is the generation of a world revolution; one so complete and continuous that we, secure in America, realize less than most men its depth and its implications. Only those who have understanding and sympathy for that revolution can hope to lead and guide it. Russia has understood it; Russia has offered sympathy for it; Russia has claimed and gained credit for it; Russia is trying to lead it down the red path of Communist exploitation.

But Russia did not really begin this great revolution; it was begun before there was a Russia or even an America. Our own history and our ideals are far more in line with it than those of Lenin and Stalin. This land was settled by men whose fathers had con-

ducted revolutions against emperors, feudal lords, kings, and priests. This nation was born in revolution; it has survived revolutions and been the proud home of those who encouraged the revolt of men against tyranny of State or Church or ignorance or fear. The true revolutionary tradition is ours, not Russia's; the right of leadership of any true revolution is ours, not Russia's. We must assert that right, assume that leadership, and translate it into partnership with the people of Asia toward true freedom for all of us.

This we can do because this we must do. Our own survival and something even greater—the progress of man toward God—demands it. We must counter the Communist Manifesto with a manifesto of our own—a document that will walk up and down the hearts of men. We have that document; it proclaims “these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” That is our Manifesto for Free Men, and there are Asian leaders who have embodied it in the documents of their new nations. But we must proclaim it more widely, practice it more convincingly, establish it more completely at home and abroad.

When this nation was small and weak, its uncertain future was balanced by a conviction of the greatness of its concept and the rightness of its mission. In those days we had no tanks, but we had will to make our faith aggressive—and we did so in our foreign relations. Our only atomic bomb was the high explosive of this concept of freedom and our willingness to export it. More recently we have been less energetic for freedom at home, or for its export overseas. We cannot win the hearts or minds or partnerships of Asians until we demonstrate in practice as well as in words our faith in our system of freedom, our fervor for freedom everywhere, and our unwavering courage to insist upon it.

We are far from that demonstration now. What great leaders of our government have stated, in words winged enough to fly the ocean, that old colonial imperialism is dead, that the old exploitation of man by man is fast dying in the world outside the Communist curtain; that America proposes to clean its house at home

of vestiges of exploitation, racial discrimination, and demagogic fascism at the same time that it proposes to assist those who seek full freedom overseas? What great leader of our government has stated in terms Asians can understand and accept that in America too there has been and is a revolution, a revolution by reason and consent, which has brought among other things a redistribution of income in effect close to a classless society of truly equal opportunity, but without bloodshed, without illegal confiscation, without tearing up the Bill of Rights? That is what Asians must understand, and they must hear it from the one source that seems to them official—the President.

But all Americans must give all Asians a demonstration of something more. All our people must convey to the people of Asia that American democracy is not a cover for economic aggrandizement by the few at the expense of the many; that American discrimination is deplored by most Americans and is clearly being rooted out; that the American way of life is more than the production and enjoyment of material things. We must above all convince them that the life of the spirit is a basic ingredient of American culture. We must point the contrast between the Soviet Union as the first government in history openly dedicated to erasing the concept of a Supreme Being from the minds of men—to brain-washing God out—the contrast between that and the fact that American democracy is based upon simple, universal religious concepts.

"Religion is the opiate of the people," says Communism. We must convince Asians that our religion is a stirring, dynamic thing.

Thus Asia becomes a test of us. Do we mean our democracy—for others as well as for ourselves? Do we propose to make real sacrifices, take real risks, to insure liberty for Asians as well as Americans? If we do, then human society will move forward toward freedom and peace. If we do not, we will enter dark ages. The issue lies largely with that 4 percent of humanity which is America.

Ideals, even if firmly held and eloquently expressed, are not enough to meet the issue. Money, technical skills, military power, food, clothing, plus everything we Americans can do, are not adequate to the need. We cannot alone solve the problems of Asia.

But neither can the people of Asia, without us, solve their problems. We must enter, fully, courageously, confidently, humbly, into the greatest partnership of humanity the world has ever known. We must try as hard to understand Asians as to make Asians understand us. It will be a difficult partnership, for we are very different. But nothing short of full partnership, of full mutual confidence, can work. That will take time, and there is so little time!

Is the job too big for us?

America has never found any job too big, when the chips were down. This new assignment is the biggest of all. It will demand vision, faith, intelligence, and patience, equal to those of Valley Forge or Gettysburg or Normandy beachheads or the Marshall Plan or the North Atlantic Treaty Organization or Point Four. It will demand nothing less than the literal realization of the Four Freedoms, an impossibility were it not also an inevitability.

Can we do it? When one considers the relatively little that America has thus far invested to this end in Asia, some of the results are amazing. They make the job seem possible. But there is larger reason for hope. I quote, in closing, the words of Charles Malik, representative of Lebanon in the United Nations:

For the first time in history there is available the material and moral means to conquer vast economic and social problems on a world scale, and America happens to be the chief trustee of this means.

This is indeed a humbling fact. But who can measure the possibilities of a people born in liberty, trusting in God, rooted in 3,000 years of cumulative tradition, and commanding a continent?

Comments on the International Fellowship Program

By DOROTHY LALLY

THE PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN ADMINISTRATION in international fellowship programs have become clearer as the years have gone by, and we have been able in a preliminary way to evaluate the use of the fellowship program and to define more clearly the place of observation fellowships in social work training. Since the establishment of the United Nations social welfare program in 1946, when international fellowships in the field of social welfare became available on a wider scale, the use of observation as a method of training has had exceptional development. In discussing this type of training opportunity, I want to emphasize that the UN fellowships were designed primarily to offer opportunities for "suitably qualified social welfare officials" to "observe and familiarize themselves with the experience of other countries administering welfare programs." The setting in which the program was first established was the postwar period in 1946; the interest was primarily in offering opportunities to the so-called "UNRRA countries," and particularly the European countries, to catch up on recent developments in the social welfare field. The Social Commission and the Economic and Social Council of the UN, in developing this program, had in mind the trained social worker with considerable experience who might bring himself up to date and improve his country's program by having a look at new or different developments in other countries. The program was therefore not at that time designed to offer practice opportunities as we think of them in America.

I think that we may now want to evaluate whether, within the limits of an observation fellowship, we are using the program to the greatest benefit of the fellowship holder. Perhaps we should clarify

what we mean by "observation." In general, the observer from overseas in his visits to agencies learns through conferences, through reading records, through attendance at staff meetings, board meetings, institutes, and regional conferences. He has as his training objective, gaining an understanding of the social welfare programs in the United States as well as something about their content, and frequently this objective is limited to certain specialized aspects of social welfare programs. Central to the success of the experience is the careful selection of agencies which afford a planned sequence of observation experiences. The Federal agency, in most instances the Social Security Administration, carries responsibility for this and for the important evaluation conferences at periodic intervals during the Fellow's program and particularly prior to his departure. Each host agency in the United States—state and local, public and private—plays a critical role in contributing to the visitor's developing understanding of our principles and methods of administration. The role of the observer is an active one, although it does not approximate the activity of the student. He is constantly learning by discussing, reviewing, selecting, and evaluating. Above all, he is seeing things in terms of their usefulness within his own country.

It is apparent that the number of agency placements, that is, the number of individual agencies used for observation per fellowship holder, has been markedly reduced since the host agencies as well as Fellows themselves have agreed that moving around too much reduces the value of the whole experience to the learner. However, if we are to keep the program on the basis of an observation experience, we must bear in mind that the observer cannot remain for an extended period of time in one agency just "observing." In other words, two or three weeks in a local agency is almost the maximum for a typical observation experience. I think that we could all consider, however, what other possibilities might be used, such as developing for the really experienced official an internship where the fellowship holder might have some opportunity for an actual work experience. If this type of arrangement, which has been used occasionally in institutions, could be developed even on a small scale, I think it might meet the needs of certain experi-

enced social workers from other countries who have had training and a number of years of experience and would like to acquire not only knowledge but actual skill, perhaps in a field such as counseling. Any such experiment would involve, of course, a careful thinking-through of training objectives and a realistic facing of the administrative difficulties involved. Not the least of these is the language barrier and the difference in cultural backgrounds which may present serious problems in the use of personnel from other countries, particularly in casework settings.

Methods now being used in our observation programs need more careful evaluation. Do the various areas of specialization within social work—casework, social group work, supervision, community organization—lend themselves well to an observation type of training experience? To this, of course, we can make no categorical reply. The dynamics of any specialty unquestionably have greater meaning and significance if there is opportunity for practice in this field. But our many reports from hundreds of Fellows and trainees show that with careful planning there are important gains through observation programs. For example, the following is quoted from the report of a Fellow who observed for five months in the United States:

I see the contribution American Case-work can make to [European] Social Work mainly in two directions:

a) *In Social Work Practices.*—American Case-work stresses the fact, that in modern society personal adjustment is no longer only a problem of economically dependent or otherwise handicapped people. It is a professional service needed by many members of the community and available to all. The emphasis therefore shifted . . . to a widely conceived service. It also demonstrated, that behind material and personal maladjustment can be much emotional blocking asking for a deeper and wider understanding of human behaviour from the part of the worker. This concept begins to be accepted in our country too and is already realized in a few social services. But it asks for a still better understanding of the worker-client relationship and a more skilled use of it.

American Case-work also helps us considerably by pointing out more sharply the underlying principles for good social work everywhere, so the client's right for self-determination, the fundamental need for acceptance (not identical with approval), the professional use of rela-

tionship (seen as two-sided), the importance to start at the client's (not the worker's) level, etc.

I also see quite a few contributions the concept and the practice of American Case-work have to make to Social Work Education in our country. As Case-work considers itself as a method of working with people, based on the understanding of the social work process involved, it asks for the *integration of knowledge and experience* (psychological, medical, legislative, administrative, etc.). This integration, still lacking in many of the European schools, is provided for when analyzing and discussing actual case-material. At the same time it furthers a more pronounced and often more scientific *focus on the Social Diagnosis and the various Treatment possibilities*. Case-work stresses the importance of the process involved in a good professional relationship and points out the need for a *specific skill*, taught and ~~learnt~~ in School. While American Social Work Education has focused intensively on the perfection of the skill (some American Social Work Educators consider it too exclusively), we missed this focus, thinking that skill could be sufficiently improved in everyday practice, which undoubtedly proved to be insufficient. Another contribution American Case-work has to make is the fact, that it is considered as a process, apt to *provide personal growth*. This growth, personal and professional, also happened through Case-work teaching, as Case-work teaching methods are very similar to Case-work itself. I experienced myself how the positive use of a good relationship, the application of primary Case-work principles such as acceptance, self-determination, the skilled use of transference, the start from where the student actually was, the freeing of emotional blockings, etc., did not only add to the professional progress of the students, but helped them in their personal growth. I therefore see Case-work teaching as an important means in developing the student's personality and his becoming of a professional person, which is our main aim in Social Work Education.

In instances such as this it is evident that knowledge is broadened, attitudes changed, insight deepened, as the visiting social worker uses the many planned—and many of the unplanned—conferences with key social workers in this country who have provided help in interpreting and relating the new and the old.

In the casework field and in supervision an observation experience is, of course, best used by the visiting social worker with training and experience. Other considerations include providing an opportunity early in the observation program for the visitor to gain an understanding of the American scene and way of life in

local communities. Very important, too, are the opportunity and obligation of the sponsoring agency to assure that the visitor understands the broad social welfare setting in this country before dipping into his specialty. No specialized phase of social work in the United States can be anything but distorted to the visitor if unrelated to the basic community programs. Given some of these safeguards, we believe the visiting social worker becomes aware of the assets of the observation program and does not expect of it what a school experience would provide. If, from the beginning, the limits of the experience are clear, the period of observation can be used more purposefully. And we find that even the younger workers using observation fellowships can understand what can be gained from observation and what needs to be "learned by doing." A young German social worker writes:

In the Family and Children's Agency in San Francisco and from the School of Social Welfare of the University of California, Berkeley, I got the best foundation for my believing in Casework. To get a good understanding and introduction I attended some case work classes, first at the School of Social Work in Denver and later on I had the opportunity to go regularly to the School of Social Welfare in Berkeley, Cal., three times a week for one month. This helped me most to recognize the generic social work principles in America and I learned just enough to be as much in favor of it that I would like to get more training in case work in order to be able to teach it at a German School of Social Work. In my opinion it is the only way to bring the basic concepts of case work to Germany through the Schools—I am sure it will then adapt to the German way.

and a Fellow from Israel writes:

Yet, I do not believe that a mere six months of observation enable the fellow to apply American case work methods in practice. I do not believe that I evidence an exaggerated feeling of responsibility in stating that these methods ought to be applied only after a thorough theoretical study, combined with field work. Such field work ought to be guided and last for half a year at least in one agency, where competent supervision is available.

From the standpoint of the international exchange programs as a whole, one of the most encouraging developments in the past two years has been the new provision for scholarships. Through the UN

program scholarships are provided, and the student may attend a school of social work where he registers on a full-time basis and has field work experience and a proper integration of both classroom theory and field work. In our experience thus far we find that the schools most successful with the scholarship holders are those that supplement the usual efforts of the school with considerable counseling, one or two of the faculty members usually giving special attention to work with students from other countries.

The important differences in end results do not need to be stressed here. The social worker who has an opportunity to attend a school of social work and further develop his professional skill is in a much more secure position when he returns to his own country with the confidence resulting from having tested theories in actual use—with the know-how that comes only from doing.

The need to adapt methods in light of the country's cultural, economic, and spiritual background has been emphasized many times in discussion. Report after report brings out the importance of this point.

One Fellow comments:

I learnt once more how much the body of these principles is formed, by the historical, economical and cultural background of a nation. We therefore cannot and should not simply transfer American Case-work, but study our own historical, cultural and sociological background and deduct the principles we can build on. Most of them will certainly be the same, as they grew out of our Christian belief and the concept of a free and democratic society. Some of them will have to be limited or completed according to our somehow different concept of social work and our relationship of individuals or groups to society and vice versa. If we state that these principles in themselves are not new or unknown in European social work, we also have to admit that it is the definite and unique merit of American Case-work to have translated them into the daily practice of American Social Work. The result is a less judgmental attitude, a different professional relationship and a deeper understanding of emotional factors involved in a helping process due to a better psychological training of the students and workers.

Another Fellow reports:

There is no doubt that the role of the American medical social workers and their Danish colleagues in many ways is different: In Den-

mark they have mostly been used for "environmental treatment." In that respect our chances are also very good, because of our social security program. But does this take away all other problems from patients? Naturally this is not the case. . . . I think it may be said that the concepts of not dividing mind and body into two different parts, which can be treated separately, are not so widely recognized and accepted here as in U.S., though we are improving . . .

But how do Danish patients respond to an American casework approach? I don't think I have training and experience enough to answer that question fully, but some difference in accepting the caseworker has been noticed. I would say, that in Denmark it is considered "proper" to bring our emotional problems to the psychiatrist; certainly also to other people, especially within the medical profession, but to expect professional help from someone outside the mentioned fields—that is something quite different . . .

In planning for the coming discussions, I tried to have the group bring out their own suggestions about what they would like to have on the program. It was decided that it in the beginning would be helpful, that different workers presented own cases on which they currently were working. In that way, they would have a chance to stick to reality and not involve in only theories, which might appear to be so far away from what Danish workers would consider possible within the facilities available; this would be too frustrating an experience, and also we had to be careful and not start treatment of problems which we were not capable of handling because of lack of training and experience.

The stress on use of materials developed within the country where the training is to be used seems an especially practical note. It has the double advantage of testing the universal principle in a familiar setting and encourages appropriate development of records as part of improving regular administration.

We have recently had the experience in the Social Security Administration of selecting a few reports of the Fellows and trainees for publication. In reviewing the many reports of Fellows and students from more than fifty-four countries of the world, we have been increasingly impressed with the fact that what the social worker from another country finds of special interest in casework are those principles which are common to all social work in America. He comes in many instances to associate these basic principles with casework particularly because it is in the discussion of casework that he frequently finds the principles most clearly defined.

Cora Kasius's excellent paper on "Casework Developments in Europe" in the *Social Casework Journal* of July, 1951, as well as Alice Stephen Whalen's article on social work principles in Germany review the basic principles of casework. The importance of understanding the individual's needs, the use of relationship, the respect for the integrity of the individual, of his right to self-determination, the importance of knowledge of self, the confidence in change—all these elements have become particularly clarified as the visitor from abroad discusses the caseworker's role. It is interesting also to review the reports of social workers who have come to the United States to study social group work, to study community organization and rural services—and the universal impression gained by them that certain social work principles are basic in all these fields. I believe that these principles are in part, at least, the core of what the European social worker sees and is most impressed with in casework practice in the United States.

It seems important for us to recognize the broader setting for these principles as we continue to work with our friends from Europe and from other parts of the world. If they are helped to see always that the basic knowledge and skill are those of the social worker, not necessarily just the caseworker, this knowledge in turn will have an important impact on what they take back to their own countries. Some of our visitors who were here in the last two or three years are taking considerable leadership in reorienting social services in their own countries on the basis of the experience in the United States. I think we are all agreed that social work in any country will really move ahead only as there is agreement on all fronts as to the basic principles on which social work programs are based and on which administration can function. Therefore we need to see these casework principles, as we identify them, related to a country's efforts in the field of public welfare, in the field of rural services as well as in the development of more limited services under voluntary or governmental auspices in urban areas. In other words, we should seize the opportunity to set these basic social work principles in their broadest possible framework so that our social work friends from overseas do not miss the forest for the trees.

In this connection, it is of interest that repeatedly in reports and

in conversations with students and Fellows who are completing their work in this country we find the comment that social work in America is so highly individualized and there seems to be so little recognition of the possibility of meeting needs and improving social conditions through social legislation. This comes as something of a surprise to American social workers who have worked closely with any of the social security programs. For example, a Fellow from Switzerland comments:

I came to this country with a fairly good knowledge of American literature on Case-work. Here I learnt that American Case-work can only be understood on the background of American culture, history and the development of American social work. For many reasons within these facts, American Social Work as a whole has focused much more on the *individual approach* to the client and the worker-client relationship than that is true for European Social Work. The emphasis lies definitely on the worker's help with the client's personal problems of adjustment rather than of the European concept of the community's responsibility for providing appropriate environmental conditions (mainly through social legislation, social security, social action).

A Fellow from Yugoslavia comments:

The dominant idea in the modern American concept of social work is the idea of the individual, his worth and his conditioning by objective circumstances. The individual only exists as a palpable reality and his troubles, whatever they may be, have to be attacked individually. . . . This is the idea of the scientific approach to human troubles, another distinctive feature of the social work concept. The basically individualistic approach should not, however, blind American social workers to the fact that common human needs . . . have their roots, beyond the individual personality, in the facts of social organization. That makes social workers, as a whole, question certain social relationships and give the whole profession a mark of progressiveness, a feature that should not be overlooked in its evaluation.

Is it that our own social workers failed in some way to set the discussion of specialized service programs within the framework of our current social legislation and social programs? Despite the fact that approximately 90 percent of the working population of the United States is now covered by some form of social security, we still find that a seriously erroneous impression of the United

States is carried home by our returning visitors. If the Fellows and students are to understand social work, including casework in the United States, they do need to have a real understanding of the social work program as a whole in America. With the 1950 amendments to the Social Security Act we have impressive coverage in the insurance and assistance programs, and this fact needs to be grasped if the visitor from overseas is to comprehend the role of preventive individualized services in the United States. Individualized services are not a substitute for broad preventive programs; on the contrary, they are an essential part of our public social services. Host agencies could help in providing a more comprehensive picture of the American community and the role of social work. Opportunities to observe at committee meetings of agency boards where pending state legislation and similar matters are under discussion would be helpful. The visitor needs to see the total efforts being made by the agency if he is to understand American social work.

One of the problems our European friends face in extending the use of casework principles in the European setting is the lack of trained supervisors and the difficulty of "starting from scratch" without the basic resources in personnel trained in the individualized approach. This problem may not prove overwhelming if the various possibilities for training are utilized. There are at hand and already being used international services such as the casework seminars of the past two years in which the European regional office of the UN has been of considerable assistance. There is also the possibility of inviting visiting professors for a year or two to strengthen faculty resources in the schools of social work and to advise on development of field work placements.

These two approaches are significant but will not have any considerable impact on country practice unless a similar effort is made concurrently through agency in-service training programs. The biggest job unquestionably is to accelerate the development of in-service training programs. Now we have had a real challenge, in the United States, in trying to extend our social services, particularly casework services, rapidly with too few trained personnel and to help staff understand the basic principles of casework and to develop some skill in casework methods in public assistance. I think

we have met the challenge, in part, through recognizing and establishing in advance the importance of staff development programs and by using our trained supervisors in key spots throughout the country for the direction and improvement of our programs.

Most of our social work visitors from other countries have noted with interest the emphasis given to in-service training in this country and the possibilities for improving the agency's programs through constant attention to development of supervisors upon whose skill the quality of administration largely depends. The effective communication of ideas and the stimulation to staff resulting from the creative use of supervisory skills have been of as great interest to many of our visitors as casework principles themselves. And of course our visitors have been quick to note the use of many of the same basic principles both in casework and in supervision.

In this connection, of special interest and usefulness to social work agencies in all countries is the recently completed United Nations study entitled *In-Service Training in Social Welfare*,¹ which brings together and analyzes in-service programs from forty-nine countries and territories. The approaches used in a wide variety of circumstances bear testimony to the resourcefulness of social work organizations that have conviction about the overriding necessity for staff training and the desire to provide opportunity for staff growth whatever the limiting factors may be. As we could expect, most of the European countries have contributed interesting illustrative materials to this study. I think you will agree as you review these materials that those of us in North America and Europe who may sometimes become discouraged in our staff development efforts can certainly not help but admire the determined efforts being made on staff training plans in the rural areas of India and in remote areas of South America and Africa.

While it is true that there are demands on the agency participating in the observation program in terms of time and special consideration which has to be given to the needs of the visitor, it is

¹ The United Nations' study on in-service training can be secured on request from the United Nations documents officer; request should also be made for the Annex, which includes the illustrative country materials.

usually rewarding to the host agency as well. We too have much to gain from this mutual exchange of experience. Although, in some areas of social work we have advanced considerably beyond other countries, in other areas a number of countries have progressed to a point that we have not yet achieved. The objectivity and critical point of view which the foreign visitor frequently brings to his over-all observation of our programs may often reveal to us both strength and weaknesses in our programs which we have been working with too closely to see. And perhaps the greatest satisfaction comes from the opportunity to make some contribution to the growth and development of social work in another part of the world. It is sometimes much later that we learn, from letters and reports, how large a contribution this has been.

As we discuss and analyze our social work concepts and their applicability in all areas of the world, we must never lose sight of the broader picture within which social work must necessarily operate and indeed should make an important contribution. Concepts such as emphasis on the importance of the individual, full understanding of needs, and respect for acceptance of differences among people must find a hospitable climate not only within Europe but also in the much larger areas of the Middle East, the Far East, Africa, and other parts of the world where social consciousness is stirring and where social workers find an exceptional challenge to use universally tested principles.

I think we were all especially aware of this at the UN when the Social Commission received for the first time a formal report on world social conditions. This report,² bringing together as it does, knowledge of the standards of living in the far corners of the earth, points up the major social and economic problems which we as professional people must understand in order to take our place responsibly in furthering human welfare. The world report presents startling facts in regard to the most elementary social statistics: Most of the people of the world today are living far below levels any social worker would be prepared to accept. In the most heavily populated areas of the world, a child born today can expect to live no more than 28 or 30 years, while in a few countries the average

² "Report on World Social Situation" (Doc. E/CN.5/267).

life expectancy is close to 70 years. Infant mortality rates are still as high as 300 per 1,000 births in many areas as compared with 20 per 1,000 in the most favorably situated countries. More than 300,000,000 people suffer from malaria, and 3,000,000 die each year from this one disease which we now know how to control or, indeed, wipe out at a cost of something like 15 to 50 cents per person.

Asia, with over half the world's population, had only 11 percent of the world's income in 1949. Per capita income throughout most of Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and much of Latin America was less than 150 United States dollars in that year.

This situation need not continue in many countries of the world. Actually, resources in some of these countries are very great if the people can be helped to help themselves. But as the international technical assistance agencies—the UN Social Welfare Program, the World Health Organization, the International Labor Organization, and other agencies—turn their efforts toward helping these countries organize their resources for a better plan of living, we find that basic to the whole approach is the reliance we must place on the individual. No assistance program, however great in technical skill and in money grants and supplies, can be effective unless as an essential part of it the families and individuals in each community are offered an opportunity to participate in a way which stimulates their confidence and brings out their skill in management of their own affairs. This is the only way we can establish the objective of independence both personally and politically. It is the quality which people around the world must develop if we are going to live together in a mutually satisfying and enriching way.

The key to the solution to our major problems is not only capital investment and increased production but the spreading of understanding of human needs, the increased respect for human values, and the real conviction that a better way of life starts always with the family, with the children, and with improved community life.

How can we release the creative energy of the people in the hamlets and villages of each country so that individuals filled with

misery, fear, disease, can begin to face their problem with confidence? Social work with its unique mastery of the helping process must be an active partner in these country development programs. The universal and basic principles and skills of social work are urgently needed. And while each country must necessarily shape its own programs, adapted to its own culture and needs, social work with broadened horizons should make an all-out effort to mobilize its technical resources for making available to all interested countries the training facilities and technical skills already tested and developed. Social work has a stake in the great ideological struggle. We stand for the worth of the individual and the family and above all we have faith in his contribution as a self-directing person with potentiality for growth and change. This philosophy must be well accepted if international efforts toward improved living conditions for the majority of the world's population are to have any real prospect for achievement.

Establishing Confidence in Our Social Welfare Programs

By PHYLLIS OSBORN

OUR SOCIAL WELFARE PROGRAMS are an integral part of the society out of which they grow and on which they must depend for survival and support. We live today in an atmosphere of fear and cynicism. Suspicion of our neighbors, and even of those whom we have considered our friends, is being encouraged as essential to security. Those who, in reality, fear freedom and a truly democratic solution of domestic as well as world problems are skillfully undermining those freedoms which we have in the past confidently accepted as our national heritage. Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas is one of the few figures in public service who still has the courage to speak out in defense of tolerance, of freedom of thought, and of open, unfettered discussion of all aspects of public issues. In an article in the *New York Times Magazine* of January 12, 1952, he writes primarily of the "Black Silence of Fear" as it affects international relationships, but his words seem in many respects equally applicable to the immediate problem assigned for our consideration as he says:

There is an ominous trend in this nation. We are developing tolerance only for the orthodox point of view on world affairs, intolerance for new and different approaches. Orthodoxy has normally stood in the path of change. Orthodoxy was always the strong hold of the status quo, the enemy of new ideas—at least new ideas that were disturbing. He who was wedded to the orthodox view was isolated from the challenge of new facts.

The democratic way of life rejects standardized thought. It rejects orthodoxy. It wants the fullest and freest discussion, within peaceful limits, of all public issues. It encourages constant search for truth at the periphery of knowledge. . . . We have over the years swung from

tolerance to intolerance and back again. . . . there has probably not been a period of greater intolerance than we witness to-day.

Periods of intolerance, such as Justice Douglas describes, demand whipping boys for their sustenance. Social welfare programs and the liberal thinking underlying them and related to our responsibilities to our disadvantaged fellow men have joined the ranks of the whipping boys so necessary in today's climate of suspicion and distrust, of regression in social thinking and action.

Reactionary elements in our country appear to be capitalizing upon the current and widespread fear of Communism in an effort to bring back the good old days of rugged individualism and laissez faire in which our national slogan might well have been "Every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost." These warnings, as related to the welfare programs, become clearly apparent as efforts to conceal the real issue through the utilization of a popular phobia, when one recognizes that it is in those countries in which want and misery are so widespread that hosts of deprived human beings feel that they have nothing to lose through totalitarianism that Communism makes its most powerful appeal. Dale Yoder, not a sentimental social worker, but a member of a sterner breed, a hard-headed economist, defines our public social welfare goals as "higher material living scales, a broader development of human abilities, the reduction of poverty and other distress and the more careful utilization and conservation of human resources."¹ These goals give recognition to the fact that the welfare of the individual cannot be separated from the welfare of society. The "ideal man," prior to the Industrial Revolution, could supposedly meet every contingency with his own resources and efforts. Present-day problems require the action of society for solution. It is most disturbing to many who have previously enjoyed a monopoly of power to see the responsibility for planning, for deciding upon what constitutes the common good, being taken over by a society which has as its goals freedom of *all* men from fear of want in its most stark and harsh manifestations.

¹ Dale Yoder, "The Welfare State—What Are Its Costs?" public lecture in series *The Welfare State—Menace or Millennium*, Social Science Research Center of the Graduate School, University of Minnesota, 1951.

The high costs of the welfare programs are frequently mentioned as the basis for today's attacks. Many sincere and honest citizens, bowed down with the tax burden imposed for the purpose of supporting past, present, and future wars, have been led to believe by misleading oral and printed statements that if only "the chiselers" could be removed from the assistance rolls, taxes would decline precipitately. They do not realize that welfare costs, national and even international, are but a drop in the bucket from which Federal dollars are poured, or that of the \$85,000,000,000 Federal budget submitted by the President for the coming fiscal year, only about three cents of every dollar are intended for the combined costs of health, welfare, and education in this country. The lion's share of the remainder will go for the costs of war. Someone has remarked that "we might be described more aptly as a 'warfare state' than as a 'welfare state.' "

Certain of the vested interests from which appears to emanate much of the concern that we shall not ruin the needy by providing them with the minimum necessities of life in times of dependent childhood, old age, illness, or other adversity complain very little regarding military expenditures. Could it be that their frenzied cries directing the attention of the tax-burdened public to the defenseless needy recipients of publicly provided assistance and services have as their objective, in addition to that of maintaining economic power, the diversion of attention from the fact that a very large percentage of the war-related expenditures are flowing directly into their pockets?

You are all familiar with the recent developments regarding the long-standing provision in the Federal act protecting the confidentiality of assistance records. You know that this provision has now been amended so that the states through legislative action may, without loss of Federal funds, make available to any interested person the names of recipients and the amounts they receive. This amendment was most frequently described as a method of deterring the unworthy from applying, one of forcing able relatives to support, and one designed to chase "chiselers" from the relief rolls. However, a headline of a local daily paper clarified the real as against the most frequently stated issue when it screamed in high

black headlines, "Hoosiers Start Revolt against Federal Curbs!" What are these much maligned Federal controls stated in law and implemented by policy through the years since the Social Security Act was passed? They are "controls" which attempt to protect the rights and the dignity of the needy individual; the right to apply for, and to receive assistance in, an unrestricted money payment if found eligible under the law, promptly, and in a fair and equitable amount as related to established need and the funds available within the state; the right to a fair hearing, if aggrieved; in other words, the right to be treated by a democratic government as a self-respecting and respected individual even though the vicissitudes of fortune have, for the time being at least, made financial assistance and perhaps other social services necessary. If the alleged "revolt" has as its objective the achievement of goals exactly the opposite of those stated above, we are indeed facing a most frightening situation. The totalitarian state has as one of its chief characteristics, lack of respect for the individual and for his rights as an individual. Whether or not this disregard of human and civil rights occurs under a Communist or under a fascist regime seems immaterial; for in many important ways the tragic end results are much the same.

What actually lies back of the desire to eliminate the Federal Government and Federal standards from relief giving? Is it part of a broader and really sincere fear of an overly powerful central government? Is it part of the larger attack on "liberal thinking" wherever it may occur, an attack on those persons concerned with the rights of all the people? Is it only one of the manifestations of the political battle going on now against an administration which has been in power for twenty years and in which admittedly there has been some graft and dishonesty? Dishonesty in government is indeed disturbing, as is dishonesty in welfare recipients, dishonesty in business, dishonesty in news investigation and reporting, and dishonesty in the attack now being made on welfare recipients and on responsible, conscientious, and competent employees of Federal, state, and local governments, as a result of which many well-qualified persons are leaving government service and others hesitating to enter it. The public is the loser in all such situations.

We are a nation of believers in the printed word, traditionally putting almost unquestioning faith in our "free press" as an effective instrument for knowing the truth. Much of the partisan criticism of the needy and of the persons who administer the services designed to meet their needs has appeared to be initiated and pursued through an unceasing and carefully organized campaign carried on by certain powerful newspaper and magazine interests. Repeatedly, in recent months, welfare administrators have stated that it is virtually impossible to persuade such publications to accept factual data disproving earlier and erroneous published statements or material. For example, one popular magazine has published a series of sensational articles on such subjects as, "Why Does Relief Cost More Today than under F. D. R.?"; "Detroit Cracks Down on Relief Chiselers"; "I Say Relief Is Ruining Families"; and "The Relief Chiseler Is Stealing Us Blind." Repeated efforts have been made, thus far with no success, to persuade this magazine to publish factual information which would correct the untrue and misleading statements with which these articles were filled. When information showing the positive developments in the programs is submitted by the agencies and accepted for publication, it is often, when released, so negative and twisted in form that any resemblance to the truth is largely coincidental.

What are the real motivating factors underlying this strange situation so prevalent in the "free press" of which in the past we have so justly been proud? Let us hasten to state that not all newspapers and not all magazines are adverse to giving an unbiased factual presentation related to the complex problems of public welfare administration and its clients, and herein lies a source of hope and encouragement. In recent months there seems perhaps to have been a slight upswing in the number of such articles which would indicate a renewed determination to search for the truth and to print it.

Ambivalence regarding the treatment of the needy is not a new phenomenon. Traditionally, the public has felt a sense of collective guilt for their plight, and from time to time an understanding sympathy has warmed the cold hand of charity given to increase the personal status of the donor or to alleviate fear of the results of

having in our midst hordes of ill and hungry unemployed people. With the passage of the Social Security Act, the conscience of the public seemed to have taken a very definite step in the direction of considering the plight of the unemployed possessed of certain wage records, and other selected groups such as the aged, the dependent children, the blind, and later the permanently and totally disabled, in a manner more designed to preserve the self-respect, the spiritual strengths, the normal functioning of the individual within the boundaries of his capacities and personal limitations. In times of depression, economic disaster strikes close to the homes of many who in days such as these could not by any feat of the imagination visualize the possibility that even they might, through a combination of circumstances beyond their control, be guilty of the sin of poverty. By this token, in days of depression, capacity for identification with the needy increases. In times of prosperity, such as these, with relatively full employment, high taxes, and inflated living costs, attacks on the welfare program, on the people who administer them, and on their beneficiaries increase in number and in intensity.

We have taken cognizance of the fact that it would be naïve to expect our social welfare programs which are so dependent upon, and so much a part of, our total social structure to escape unscathed when the destructive forces of hatred, distrust, suspicion, and reaction are in the ascendancy. We recognize that programs developed within a legal framework must of necessity, and in a democratic society *should*, be a reflection of the convictions of the citizenry, but public opinion is never unanimous.

In view of the instances in which we have learned from experience that editorial policy as reflected, not only on the editorial page where it rightfully belongs, but also in news reporting, does not always accurately reflect public opinion, it is interesting to speculate on the present degree of correlation between the majority of the powerful purveyors of the news and the thinking of the public. Do we actually know the content of true public opinion? As one factor in assessing public confidence and support of the social welfare programs, we should perhaps evaluate the extent to which the elected representatives of the people, through their voting records,

reflect the wishes and the thinking of their constituencies. In the depression days of 1935, Congress acted affirmatively on the original Social Security Act by a nonpartisan vote of 372-33 in the House and 77-8 in the Senate. The far-reaching amendments of 1950, which in almost every instance liberalized the original provisions, were adopted in a period of economic prosperity and amidst bitter attacks on the "welfare state" as equated with public concern for the needy. They were passed by an even more overwhelming majority in both Houses. If antagonism toward, and rejection of, the welfare programs and their basic philosophy are as generally accepted as we have sometimes been led to believe, what is the meaning of this apparent paradox?

In days such as these when concern for social welfare is being subjected to onslaughts with which we are all familiar, does it not become even more essential than usual that we evaluate with a coldly analytical eye the degree to which, by omission or commission, we have contributed to the present unhappy situation? Have not many persons employed in welfare agencies, in an attempt to protect themselves from flying missiles, been tempted to take on the customary coloration of the surrounding country—the well-known device of camouflage? Have we, in some instances, in an effort to ingratiate ourselves with what we considered to be powerful interests, attempted to attribute certain marked reductions in relief rolls to our punitive policing of the rolls rather than giving credit, where credit is due, to the desire of the needy to support themselves whenever this has been possible? Have we in our careless chatter regarding the serious problem of certain inadequate, irresponsible persons applying for and receiving assistance given the impression to the public that such persons constitute the majority of the relief load rather than emphasizing the fact that a similar number would likely be found in any cross section of 5,500,000 people?

Have we attempted to stimulate public interest and concern with respect to all the needs of the public agency client? Or have we allowed ourselves to be used as tools by which the quality of administration and the integrity of the clientele are judged almost solely by reductions in case load through a return to financial in-

dependence? Economic self-maintenance for its clients is a highly worthy objective for any welfare agency, but a complete lack of relationship to the facts of life is not a mark of wisdom. There are millions of persons receiving assistance who because of age and disability can never become financially independent, but it is highly important that they be given the opportunity to lead satisfying and socially useful lives within the scope of their own capacities and limitations. The determination of eligibility and of the extent of need are the basic casework services of the assistance agency, but have we too long ignored the many other needs of these groups, which are inherent in the very eligibility requirements themselves and which might well be given within the limits of agency function and capacity of staff? Has not the failure to emphasize these service needs of our clients perhaps alienated or discouraged great segments of public support which might otherwise have been forthcoming? Do we ourselves honestly believe with sincere conviction in the programs in which we are employed? Or are we perhaps projecting onto the public many of our own fears, insecurities, and prejudices as we attempt to deal with social problems of staggering import to which, admittedly, we do not know all the answers? Have we honestly tried to place before the public the heroic accomplishments of many of the needy existing on inadequate relief budgets? Have we forgotten that the public agency is a *social* agency and that to it must come many whose social, emotional, mental, and physical problems are more serious than those of the clients of a private agency, one of whose eligibility requirements may be "treatability." We do seem to have done so when we demand that the social adjustment, the moral standards, and the general level of behavior of the needy be superior to that of the public at large. For instance, when the Aid to Dependent Children program is attacked as being a primary cause of illegitimacy, are we prepared to point out, and do we make known, the fact that a major cause of the proportionate increase in the number of such problem cases in the ADC case load is the fact that in increasing numbers, needy children, orphaned by the death of the wage earner, are being cared for through old age and survivors' insurance benefits? Do we make it clear that in only about 22 percent of the cases

of desertion and illegitimacy does the mother apply for ADC? Do we broadcast the information that the proportionate increase in the number of families receiving ADC in which there is an illegitimate child is considerably less than the increase in illegitimacy rates estimated by the Office of Vital Statistics for the population as a whole?

But, we may say, we are unable to find anyone who is willing to publish factual material showing the positive values of the welfare program and the needs, problems, and accomplishments of its recipients. Have we really tried? Or have we been so busy developing forms, procedures, and unproductive and duplicating methods of investigation that we have not actively utilized our opportunities to become acquainted with the editors and reporters of our local newspapers and to interpret to them our needs?

Have we tended to believe that interpretation of the problems and the achievements of the welfare programs must be largely limited to the printed page? In how many welfare offices has the total staff met purposefully as a group to consider and to decide upon specific methods by which the receptionist, the caseworker, the clerical worker, the supervisor, the administrator, can and will make a contribution to public understanding as they go about their usual day-to-day activities? High-pressure methods are seldom effective in changing public opinion. We must seek ways and means for a two-way flow of ideas, to and from the public, for additional channels, for true two-way communication, if we are to establish public confidence in our stewardship of public funds and in the people whom we serve.

We have mentioned the Jenner amendment which provides that violation of the confidentiality principle may take place without loss of Federal funds. How often have we as social workers met a legitimate, or even an illegitimate, inquiry of a lay person with the rejoinder: "I am unable to give you the information because of the Federal secrecy rule"? Of course there is not and never was a "Federal secrecy rule." There was a time when we had a law which attempted to give full protection to the confidential relationship between public agency and client, but that was no rule. It was law passed by the representatives of the people of our forty-eight states.

How often have we paused in the midst of a busy day to interpret the reasons underlying the law and to say, "Although as a result of this law, with the provisions of which I agree, I cannot tell you whether or not Sarah Johnson is receiving assistance or the amount of the grant of any one person, I should like to discuss with you, in answering the questions which you raise, our methods of determining eligibility and the amount of the payment, and to tell you how people must live to manage on these payments"? Countless similar opportunities for exchange of concern and information must have undoubtedly been overlooked.

Social research is a crying need. Everybody says so, but nobody does much about it, at least as related to today's controversial issues. Are these issues so intangible that they can never be dealt with by research methods? Unfortunately, while social agency workers know so well the plights and problems of assistance recipients; while we are reasonably certain that the percentage of dishonest persons on the relief rolls would compare quite favorably with those on the tax rolls, while we believe that we know something about the causes of poverty and dependency and that it is inadequate, grudgingly given assistance which fosters dependency and loss of self-respect, rather than full assistance given in times of need, as a right; while we are willing to assert that the ADC grant is not the basic cause of the sexual urge and the resulting illegitimate parenthood, we do not have our data assembled, organized, analyzed, and presented in such a fashion that they substantiate our convictions. It is my belief that sound social research would support many of the beliefs which have been confirmed through observation and trial-and-error methods as the practice of social work has developed to a professional status, but we have little organized data with which to confirm our convictions or with which to gain allies among the lay public. Let us not, however, comfortably relax until the day when basic research mounted upon a white charger shall ride up to provide the magic key to the solution of our problems and to public interpretation. A wealth of unused or little used data is readily at hand, and many of our most important convictions have been validated through years of observation and rich experience.

We have been talking about public welfare, public agencies, and public employees, but the problems which we have discussed are universal to all social work. The private agency programs in a community must of necessity fail if they are not supplemented by broad and sound public provisions for the many whose needs cannot be met through private auspices. Social workers and board members in a private agency are often in a more strategic position to support and interpret the needs and problems of the public agency than are the employees of such an agency. Sometimes, through fear, or lack of understanding or concern, such support has not been forthcoming. We are told that in one city the council of social agencies recently refused to go on record when requested to do so, with respect to a serious controversial issue of far-reaching implications in which the public agency was involved, not because its members had doubts as to the merits of the cause, but because they feared attacks on the community chest drive. One is reminded in such a situation of the aptness of the last line of the familiar quotation: "Send not to see for whom the bell tolls. It tolls for thee."

It is evident that today's situation is serious, but it is not hopeless. Even those most violently critical of the social welfare programs do not recommend their abandonment. The motivation for this restraint may in some instances be a compound of the necessity for a convenient whipping boy, a recognition of the essentiality of such programs to the continuation of our present economic system, and a twinge of conscience at what such action would, in the last analysis of end realities, mean to the millions of the aged, the children, the blind, the disabled, and the unemployed who are dependent upon these programs for the minimum necessities to maintain life.

There are many who are conscientiously concerned about these problems. There are honest and influential citizens who seek the truth and who, if approached, will ally their efforts with ours in assessing the strengths and the weaknesses of the welfare programs and in working toward their improvement as truly social agencies. There are honest newspapers and magazines eager to print the facts. There are social workers willing to take on the hard jobs,

to work in difficult and discouraging situations for people and for principles in which they really believe, and who are able to engage in today's struggle with skill and judgment and faith rather than in the belligerent and fearful manner which alienates rather than attracts potential supporters of our social welfare programs. The move presently under way to develop a nation-wide association of social workers through which the seven professional membership associations in the field may in the near future come together as one organization should go far toward making possible a more universal and unified approach to the problems which we have considered. The new Council on Social Work Education bringing together for common purpose, as it does, the two organizations of schools of social work, which have in the past sometimes operated at cross purposes, will undoubtedly be giving thoughtful attention to the problems which we have discussed as they affect and are affected by professional training. Many educators are beginning to recognize that all students completing work at the undergraduate level should be in possession of basic knowledge regarding social and economic issues and the provisions for dealing with these issues which have been developed by the society in which they live.

To develop and to maintain conviction and the needed skills in the face of our present frustrations is no simple and easy task. Any social worker and any citizen who acknowledges and attempts to deal with problems of the magnitude of those which we face today will be discouraged much of the time with the complexity of the problems and the extent of his achievements both in self-discipline and in accomplishment of objectives, but such achievements are not always measurable at the moment.

Future Directions in Foster Care for Children

By JOHN E. DULA

FOR THE PAST THREE AND A HALF YEARS I have been a consultant-surveyor for the Child Welfare League of America. I hasten to add, however, that the views expressed in this paper do not necessarily reflect the views of the League.¹ During these years I have studied, surveyed, consulted with, or made a field visit to more than fifty child-caring agencies and institutions, from border to border and coast to coast. While these are only a fraction of an estimated twenty-five hundred children's agencies in the nation, they represent a fair cross section.

I dare say the problems confronting them are the down-to-earth problems confronting the whole placement field today: spiraling costs; insufficient funds; high case loads; public-private agency relationships; agency structure; ineffective interpretation; shortage of boarding homes; shortage of professionally trained staff; diffusion of child welfare services in large public welfare programs; court-agency conflicts; pressure for merger without thought to much else besides economy; the false tagging of children as "dependent," "neglected," and "delinquent" which is perpetuating a false separation of foster care resources; extreme variation in standards and practices which is confusing to the public and undermining the development of a consistently good level of service.

It is time to take a direct look at the structure and organization of foster care and other child welfare services, at the extension of multiple-function or consolidated children's agencies throughout the country. The aim of placement is to provide the kind of foster

¹ For a concise but comprehensive evaluation of present-day child welfare, see the report of the Child Welfare League of America to the Mid-Century White House Conference on Children and Youth, "Some Major Problems and Needs," December, 1950.

care a child needs when he needs it. Is this objective more readily achieved through a multiple-function child welfare agency than when placement and other services are separate agencies?

Foster care or placement is a *part* of child welfare services. These are services which are centered or focused upon the child and which emphasize his proper protection and well-being. As such, they are distinguished from family-centered or family-focused services. Child welfare services are not just foster care. They include special programs, such as protective services, to enable children to remain in their own homes, to help parents carry their primary responsibility, to work with parents and relatives while the children are under care, to help the unwed mother plan for herself and her child, to find the best adoptive parents for a child. Most foster care is no longer the substitute parental care of yesterday when we frequently took the entire job away from parents and relatives. Should we not promote more forcefully the consolidation, integration, unification, or, at least, the closer affiliation of these specific services of child welfare?

We urgently need an objective, scientific evaluation of the multiple-function children's agency—and, also, we urgently need valid study of other types of consolidation, such as the merged family and children's structure. Many communities have demonstrated the effectiveness of combining foster family and institutional care in a multiple-function child welfare agency with special services to help children remain in their own homes and with other child-centered services.

Indeed, such consolidations might be extended even further to include, for example, maternity home care as well as boarding care for unwed mothers. The possibility of continuing to unify or consolidate the child-focused services of voluntary and public agencies merits as serious consideration in this day of mergers as do other possible combinations of services, not because of the money that might be saved, for mergers save no money if the tremendous needs are to be met more completely, but because of the better quality of service for children.

In some communities the differences in casework orientation are causing problems of agency relationships, staff recruitment, com-

munity organization for child welfare and other services, and are even threatening financial support. What is to be done, if anything, to curb the development of more Boys Towns or Girls Ranches, with their concentrated and almost sole emphasis upon environmental change as a cure for the troubles of troubled children and youth? How are the myriad varieties of foster homes and institutional services which are necessary to assure each child the type of care he needs to be made available, not only to city children but also to rural boys and girls? How long are feelings of local autonomy and the desire of a community for its own services to impede the development of child welfare agencies on a regional, state, or even national basis?

A look at some of the trends in the two major types of foster care, i.e., foster family and institution, casts further light on the nature of the placement problem and the challenge confronting us.

A significant trend lies in the refinements or differentiations that are occurring both in foster family and in institutional care. No longer is it possible to think of *the institution* or *the foster home*. There are many varieties. Some should be eliminated. But most of them reflect an application of the basic needs of all children and the special needs of foster children.

Looked at from the vantage points of structure, intake, and purpose, child-caring institutions include the following varieties:

1. *Congregate massive institutions*, a vanishing species.
2. *Cottage institutions* of the older type with thirty to forty children under one roof.
3. *Newer cottage institutions* with eight to twelve children in each unit.
4. "Emergency" or "temporary" shelters, too often filled with children who have remained for months and years because of deficiencies of boarding home and institutional programs.
5. *Detention homes*, usually operated by courts for the safe-keeping of "delinquent" children or of material witnesses, but too often the repository for children, even infants, for whom foster family resources are insufficient.
6. *Training schools*, generally operated by the state, usually on a single-sex basis, for so-called "delinquent" boys and girls, often

isolated from the general stream of child welfare services and oriented more to an educational, custodial, or penal approach.

7. *Free boarding schools*, occasionally for upward of a thousand children, providing educational opportunities for children from low-income or broken families, but failing to identify themselves as social agencies either in philosophy or in staffing.

8. "Baby folds" or *infant homes*, which, according to competent psychologists, often produce permanently damaging effects on infants and young children.

9. "Boys Towns" or "Girls Ranches," which in certain sections of the country are spreading like a brush fire.

10. The *study home or diagnostic center*, which almost always faces the problem of where to send the child for treatment or help once the diagnosis has been made, and whose existence often invites the placement of children whose study and diagnosis might have occurred just as well, if not better, in their own homes.

11. The *maternity or shelter home*, which I include because so many unwed mothers are older adolescents who are in conflict with their mothers.

12. The *residential treatment center* for emotionally disturbed children, which I include even though question may be raised of its identification as a child welfare or social agency, as a mental institution, or as an entirely new and different species.

The following differentiations have been occurring in the foster family field:

1. The *boarding home*, the most numerous group, wherein a family is paid for caring for a child placed and supervised by an agency after study.

2. The *subsidized boarding home*, usually for infants, but sometimes for adolescents or for disturbed children, in which the boarding parents receive a regular sum in addition to the per diem rate, in return for which the home may be kept open at all times to receive children.

3. The *adoptive home*, wherein the child ultimately becomes legally a member of the foster family.

4. The *free home*, in which no payment is made for the care of children. This variety has practically vanished.

5. The *work home*, wherein children earn part or all of their board by working for the foster parents.
6. The *wage home*, in which the children pay for their board out of what they earn through working in or out of the home. While responsible agencies are very selective in using work or wage homes, I know one agency whose financial support of children ceases at their sixteenth birthday—it used to be the fourteenth—and which is often compelled to place children prematurely in such homes if it cannot discover a long-lost parent or relative when the child is nearing sixteen.
7. The *group foster home*, in which usually not more than six children, often adolescents, are placed. Ordinarily a high board rate is paid, which may be a prelude to the development of specialized boarding home care. In some areas what is called a "group foster home" furnishes no better than substandard institutional care.
8. The *temporary foster home*, or reception home, used routinely by some agencies which believe that the child must have an experience in such a foster home before he can adjust in a more permanent boarding home.
9. The *shelter boarding home*, which is often clogged with children for no reason other than the lack of sufficient boarding homes and other foster care resources.
10. The *long-term boarding home*, for the child whose placement is likely to extend over a period of years. Many agencies, especially public agencies which care for the so-called "chronic" dependent or neglected child, forget that the prognosis regarding the child's long-time care and the capacity of his parents or relatives to care for him may change. Such agencies blissfully go along with less than a minimum of casework with the remnant of the child's family or with the child and his foster parents themselves on the assumption that all is settled.
11. The *independent or commercial boarding home*, sometimes licensed, sometimes not, where a rate usually much higher than that in the agency foster home is paid, but wherein the child receives half protection at best, since his parent or guardian has usually chosen the home without benefit of agency help.

There are other varieties of foster home and institutional resources that might be noted, as, for example, the three cottages for six children each, recently added to the Leake and Watts Children's Home in Yonkers. Staffing the one cottage which has been opened is a married couple who receive housing and maintenance in return for their services, with the husband being employed in town as any foster father. This is a hybrid of institutional and foster family placement.

There is what might be called the "decentralized" institution, such as has been developed by the Jewish Children's Bureau of Chicago and other agencies and is now being considered by the Jewish Child Care Association in Newark. This calls for the purchase and manning of several residences in various neighborhoods in substitution for the congregate or cottage-type institution in one location.

Then there are a few agencies, such as the Jewish Child Care Association of New York, which are leading the way in developing boarding homes which will care for certain emotionally disturbed children.

A study of several agencies in New York City by Dr. Philip Klein in 1947 described ten different kinds of specialized living arrangements for foster children, in addition to the usual foster family, to meet the needs of children requiring care outside their own homes.

Are all these types of foster care necessary in every community? How soon can we expect some of them, whose usefulness has long been questioned, to give way to more progressive programs in tune with our current knowledge of the needs of children? How are the necessary varieties to be supported at decent standards of care? How are they to be made available in the small town and in rural areas?

The significance of the residential treatment center,² to which I referred earlier, does not rest in its numbers, for there are probably no more than twenty or thirty recognized centers in the country. The residential treatment center is a *searchlight*, fairly new and powerful, that is already locating and high-lighting many de-

² Helen R. Hagan, "Residential Treatment," *Child Welfare*, XXXI (January, 1952), 8.

fects in our placement programs, in child welfare services, and in other community programs of family service, mental health, recreation, and even public assistance. Three counties (which thought they could never collaborate on anything) have recently set up a Tri-County Committee on a residential treatment center. They have formed a subcommittee to study and assess the adequacy of all child welfare and other services which are factors in the needs of, and services for, emotionally disturbed children. Some members of the committee are coming to believe that the insufficiencies of foster care services might better be dealt with through a consolidation of child-centered services—not just foster care but protective and preventive child welfare services as well—into a multifunction child welfare agency of which the special center might be one part.

The residential treatment center has the following implications:

1. It represents the acme of the renaissance of interest in, and activity of, institutions which has been evident since the 1930s. Residential treatment is the most specialized and highly refined of our present-day institutional or group care programs for children.
2. Residential treatment is an outstanding demonstration of the team or multidisciplinary approach in group care, bringing together the various disciplines of social casework, psychiatry, pediatrics, psychology, education, anthropology, and others so that the child is aided not only by the specialist himself, but also by the total treatment atmosphere.
3. Residential treatment contains the potential capacity for long-overdue research in such matters as the nature of emotional disturbance, the effectiveness of treatment, and the elements of good teamwork.
4. Residential treatment can be the most vocal and stimulating critic of our boarding home and other child welfare programs and of our community social services, including family casework services and mental health programs. Certainly this is true where the few centers are located, and even beyond its immediate area the center is having an influence.
5. Residential treatment throws sharper light on what we have long been proclaiming—that foster children have the same basic needs as all children; but their needs are special, too, arising in

part from the trauma of separation from their own parents and the meaning of their parents whether dead, alive, active, or apathetic in their child's behalf.

It would not be accurate to say that residential treatment alone has caused an interest in, and quickened concern about, the frequent replacement of so many children in one boarding home after another. Foster family advocates themselves have long been concerned about this problem which, as Dr. Florence Clothier wrote some years ago, means that "each time the social worker undertakes to move an infant or young child she is jeopardizing his chances of forming, holding and incorporating love objects which are, for him, essential to normal growth."³

I predict that not only will there be increasing research on this subject, but also there will and must be a more aggressive and crusading spirit to reduce to the irreducible minimum those factors which are occasioning replacements and which agencies can do something to eliminate.

For example, may we not expect the inadequate board rate to be raised? In the early days of the foster family movement as the shift was made from the free foster home to the paid boarding home, the board payment was little more than a token toward the cost of the child's foster care. Perhaps this de-emphasis was necessary in order to give a grounding to the paid boarding home programs which needed to replace the free foster homes with their exploitation of children, but it has dogged foster family agencies ever since. Despite increases, board payments have generally remained at a level considerably below that necessary to meet expenses and to pay for the services of foster parents as partial employees of the child-placing agency. With the cost of residential treatment ranging from \$3,600 to \$8,000 we may expect that boarding home care will continue to be less expensive than residential treatment. Even so, boarding rates could be increased from a median of forty dollars a month to ninety, a hundred, and even more, and still be less expensive than good institutional care.

In the long run, preventive foster home care is cheaper in hu-

³ "The Problem of Frequent Replacement of the Young Dependent Child," *Mental Hygiene Quarterly*, XXI (October, 1937), 549-558.

man life and dollars than are remedial institutional programs when the opportunities for cure and reclamation are so much less.

Recently we surveyed the foster home program of a public child-placing agency in a city of almost a million population. Over half the children had had more than one placement. One girl, three days prior to celebrating her sixteenth birthday, had been committed to a state mental hospital. In ten years in the agency's care she had been in fifteen different placements, including two trials with her own parents and two placements in institutions which were mainly custodial in type. Despite a serious shortage of boarding homes, the agency had seventy-one children on its waiting list in the city hospitals and in the children's own unsuitable home environment.

While the median board rate paid by other agencies in this community was \$38 a month, the maximum rate paid by the public agency for an adolescent was only \$30 a month, with the minimum rate of \$22 a month being paid for an infant under two years of age. For only eight out of more than six hundred children was a higher rate being paid, and this had to be approved by none other than the city comptroller's office.

May we not expect a quickened concern of foster placement agencies about reducing the case loads in boarding home placement? In the agency I have referred to, case loads averaged 51.5 per worker, and 80 percent of the staff lacked full professional training.

At the Central Regional Conference of the League in Detroit in the spring of 1952, Dr. Ralph Rabinovitch, of the Neuropsychiatric Institute of the University Hospital, Ann Arbor, reported some of the preliminary findings of a study which is being made of children who have long been receiving foster home care. In stressing the concern of the foster child about "Who am I" with his name different from that of his boarding parents and with his own parents a dim but living memory, Dr. Rabinovitch emphasized the importance of the caseworker's having more direct contact with the child in order that he might have a chance to "ventilate" his feelings about his parents.

He implied what some foster home agencies have been stressing for many years, that is, the importance of the identity of the agency to the child. Not that the agency can substitute for the relationship

with an adult such as the caseworker, but that foster home children need as much to relate to something as does the institutional child who, for example, relates to "St. Chris," as they call St. Christopher's School at Dobbs Ferry, New York.

This preliminary finding has obvious implications for the combining of foster family and institutional programs in which the latter gives more meaning and stability to the agency caring for the child—not that I would endorse the recurring idea that every child profits from a period of institutional care at the beginning of his foster care.

This preliminary finding has obvious implications, also, for reductions of case loads which would enable skilled workers to be in closer and more direct contact with the boarded child, instead of a periodic checkup with the foster parents once a month or even less often. Despite adequate board payments, better skills in home finding and development, and other agency-determined factors, it is inevitable that some foster parents, as they become older, must cease caring for children. (But how many foster homes wear out because we overcrowd them? There are some agencies, but only a few, which send a homemaker into a foster home to give the foster mother a vacation.) All the more important, then, that skilled workers have sufficient time to keep close to the foster child.

In some communities, a more constructive and planned use of the institution for certain specific children at the beginning of their foster care is reducing the need for replacement. The director of casework in a progressive institution said recently that ten years ago it seemed that every troublesome child on the campus was a child who had had several boarding home placements before, as a *last resort*, he was sent to their institution. Now, instead of trying to place every child in a boarding home, the foster home agencies, referring departments, and courts are making a better diagnosis of what type of foster care the child needs and, if it be group care, referring him to an appropriate institution—if one exists.

When we recognize that probably one third of our institutions are substandard and that another third should probably adapt their programs to the care of more difficult children, we are frustrated in our attempts to make thoughtful, positive, and constructive use of

group care even though it would meet the child's needs better. When we recognize that only one out of every five counties has the services of a child welfare worker, we cannot be too hopeful of an accurate diagnosis.

Lest my criticisms of the foster family program be construed as a lack of confidence, I hasten to add that quite the contrary is so. I believe that for the majority of children requiring care away from home, foster family placement provides the best solution. But I believe that the foster family movement needs a renaissance such as is occurring in the institutional field. Too many times have I found voluntary placing agencies with a shriveling number of foster homes, transferring children to public agencies because they lack the funds for private boarding care, and with the public program paying low board rates, having high case loads, and lacking a trained or child welfare oriented staff.⁴ In such communities, the answer is not to send more children to institutions, but to strengthen the foster family resources. This calls for renewed and continuing leadership of foster family workers, both public and private.

I can no more than allude to the problem of the great interest—almost hysterical in some places—in adoptions which is diverting attention from other programs of foster care covering 90 to 95 percent of the foster children who are not eligible or ready for adoption placement.

I wish to emphasize the significance of the movement in many communities to combine foster home and institutional programs, or to develop from the nucleus of an institution adjunctive or full-blown programs of boarding care and services to children in their own homes.

If we believe that the purpose of foster care is to provide the type of care a child needs when he needs it, does not a canopying of various services under one agency's auspices better assure the achievement of this purpose? If we see the relatedness of foster care to the whole field of child welfare services, is it not logical to conclude that a unification or consolidation of services which have

⁴ In 1948 and 1949 there was a shrinkage of 12 percent in the number of children being cared for by private voluntary agencies. In those same years, the number cared for by government agencies rose 17 percent.

children as well as casework as their generic base might be in order?

The advantages of a grouping of like services are well expressed by those who surveyed the child welfare needs and resources of the Jewish community in Essex County (Newark, New Jersey) in 1945, which led to the establishment of the Jewish Child Care Association and the setting up of a separate family service agency:

The present children's agencies, in our opinion, could be run most efficiently if brought into the kind of organic relation to one another which would prevail if they were all amalgamated into an Essex County Association for Jewish children. All services needed by children, placement in foster homes, child guidance and group care, would be provided by departments of one agency with maximum effectiveness for the client and with minimal cost in the long run for the community. Where more than one service is required, simultaneously or at different times, the transition from one type of service to another could be accomplished with relative ease since it would not be necessary for the client to change agencies. Personnel could also be used with maximum effectiveness. It would be possible to provide supervision and psychiatric consultation for those workers who do not have the advantage of this. In addition, there would be the kind of mutual influence which the members of one staff have upon another, so that the professional horizon, so to speak, of each worker would be broadened. There would be uniform standards of performance and uniform personnel practices—all in an agency sufficiently variegated to provide every type of service for children and sufficiently coherent to permit ease in administration of these services.

These are the reasons which I think have most frequently led to the consolidation of children's services or the development of the combined foster home and institutional agency. In addition to providing better services, more efficiently and effectively extended, there is the further advantage of maintaining a service which the public can easily identify as focused on children. Institutional care, which is so likely to be isolated even further when a family and a children's agency combine, would be an integral part of the consolidated children's agency. Many communities would thus be enabled to have two strong casework agencies, one primarily for children and the other for family-centered problems.

The feasibility, if not the preferability, of integrating or unifying children's services is applicable with as much validity and

appropriateness to the public child care developments as to the voluntary programs.

This has been well set forth in the report on the Youth Correction Authority, entitled *5 States*, made by Bertram M. Beck, Assistant Director of the Bureau of Public Affairs of the Community Service Society.⁵ The child welfare field, so long a critic of the youth authority development, owes a debt to the American Law Institute for having sponsored this keen and penetrating analysis with its far-reaching implications to the total child welfare program. It is now to be hoped that the Institute will seriously consider the support of unified child welfare programs in governmental administration.

Mr. Beck states:

The organization of a special department for child care would have the tremendous advantage of focusing on the needs of children. It seems possible that it would not encounter the difficulty of receiving sufficient financial support, which the child welfare program now encounters when the director of the state department must go to the legislature to ask for considerable sums for public assistance and then ask for child welfare monies in addition to the necessary assistance budget. The needs of children have always captured the popular imagination and could continue to do so were they presented to the public by a State Department of Services for Children as something separate and distinct.⁶

I concur also with Mr. Beck's plea for the close coordination, if not integration, of present programs for so-called "delinquent" children and other basic child welfare programs, including foster care.

The renaissance of interest and activity in the institutional care and treatment of children augurs well for the future of these services. I recognize, however, that many of the child-caring institutions are outmoded in plant and program, and many need to be changed or to go out of business altogether. This renaissance, reaching its present peak in the residential treatment center, is highlighting and locating many defects, both known and unrecognized, in the foster family program, other child welfare services,

⁵ *5 States—a Study of the Youth Authority Program as Promulgated by the American Law Institute* (Philadelphia: American Law Institute), p. 39.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

child guidance clinics, and all social service programs in the community.

The foster family movement, which in my opinion has made relatively less progress, needs much improvement, calling for the courage and conviction of crusaders like Mary Boretz.

The multifunction child welfare agency cannot provide the solution to our placement problems. Money and staff are needed also, and in considerable quantity. But the consolidation of children's services, I am convinced, merits serious consideration as a structure through which better services might be provided a child in his own home and away from it.

Improving Services to the Permanently and Totally Disabled

By MARY S. WEAVER

THE ENACTMENT OF LEGISLATION to provide assistance to the permanently and totally disabled highlights a challenge which has been ever present in public assistance programs. We have always held that public assistance was designed to provide more than economic aid for subsistence. As a matter of first things first, emphasis on equity and on getting more adequate assistance to people promptly has been necessary, and has used up much of the time in many agencies. Thus, less effort than is desirable has been spent in enabling persons receiving assistance to grow into their full stature of self-fulfillment. In philosophy these aims have always been inseparable, but, as in other aspects of life, there has been a lag between principle and practice.

The Joint Conference Committee of the House and Senate in reporting out the bill which was enacted into law in Title XIV indicated an intent that, in addition to providing assistance, states should exert maximum effort in making available to applicants and recipients the resources of the community for training and rehabilitation of the disabled. State plans must include a description of the way working agreements with related programs, such as rehabilitation services, are to be developed if the state wishes Federal financial participation. The report of the Task Force on the Handicapped of the Office of Defense Mobilization tells us that "medical knowledge has increased vastly, making it possible to treat and retrain many persons who formerly had no favorable prognosis for resuming their activities."

These statements of principles place new emphasis on the old responsibility of public assistance agencies to provide services which will help people to help themselves. They are also descriptive of

the need for mobilization and coordination of community resources for the use of the individual as he wishes to avail himself of those resources.

Assistance in the form of medical care and money for maintenance in this category are "musts." Standards of assistance which reflect what the agency can contribute toward a minimum adequate standard of living, recognizing the differences in individual circumstances affecting the cost of that standard of living, must underpin the program. Policies governing the determination of need will have a definite bearing on services which the public assistance agency considers implicit in its functions.

That no more is said here about the need for adequate assistance is not to be construed as minimizing its importance. I am merely assuming we agree that in this country people should not have to struggle against economic odds.

Granted the necessity of medical care and money, neither, *per se*, gives the ego satisfactions to be gained from belonging and participating and contributing to the maximum of one's capacities. It is toward these aspects of strengthening the individual that we must reinforce our efforts.

In public assistance, services to the permanently and totally disabled rest on an application of casework knowledge, understanding, and skill which should begin when the applicant comes to the agency and should continue throughout his relationships with the agency. Obviously, people come to this program because they are unable to maintain themselves and have some disabling condition which prevents, at least for the present, the return to self-maintenance. There is some obstacle both in themselves and in their circumstances which they have not been able to overcome. They seek help with mobilizing their resources to meet their needs. Public assistance has a responsibility not only for providing financial assistance to alleviate want, but also for helping the individual preserve, restore, or develop his abilities toward maximum social usefulness. This goal is consonant with the goal of social casework.

The nature of this category requires that we relate immediately to illness and its meaning to the individual, since in order to be eligible the person must have a permanent physical or mental im-

pairment. The examining physician must diagnose, describe physical or mental limitations and remaining functional capacities, and give recommendations for treatment. However scientifically objective or impersonal this information may be to the physician, the diagnosis is of central importance to the applicant.

Medicine and social work recognize that one's emotional state may be a greater contributing factor to disability than a disease itself. It may condition acceptance of the diagnosis, interest in treatment, ability to follow a medical regimen, or participation in a rehabilitation plan. Some become egocentric and use illness as a refuge from the demands of everyday living. Others find nothing but frustration in the enforced idleness attendant upon some defect or impairment. Still others deny the existence of illness by extending themselves as if they were well. Some who have been ill a long time have a "what's the use" attitude. Some individuals accept treatment as an attention-getting device or as a source of sociability, as with the "clinic shopper." Others avoid medical care because of fear of doctors and/or hospitals, lack of understanding of recommended diagnostic or therapeutic procedures, or fear of the outcome of treatment. Awareness of the meaning of an impairment from the disabled individual's viewpoint—how he feels about it, what he understands about it, how he uses it, what he wants for himself—is essential to an understanding of what can be done to help him achieve what is feasible for him.

It is important that public assistance workers gain this understanding in order that service related to medical care can be used by the recipient. Providing such pertinent information to the review team is not only important to making the decision of permanent and total disability but will also enable the team to make practical medical-social recommendations. The worker can identify for the recipient areas in which help can be given, work with him to use his own capacities to decide what help he wants, and facilitate his securing services open to him. Recognizing the individual's human needs and stimulating him to see them in a context of reality, to use his strengths to the extent possible for him, and to accept help from others is no less a service than the treatment he may receive from a physician.

A more careful analysis and evaluation of factual data given by the recipient about himself will add to depth of understanding the individual essential to service. For example, public assistance workers secure work history in all cases. Exploring with the recipient his employment history and interests not only produces facts but gives insight into the individual's attitudes, problems, and satisfactions which will be useful in helping him decide what he can do for himself, whether he needs the help of others, what help is available, and whether he wishes to use the resources at hand.

Preliminary findings in an unpublished study of the social characteristics of recipients of disability assistance show that about two thirds of the recipients have had employment. What kinds of work the person has done in terms of activities as well as job classifications, the duration of jobs held, and reasons for periods of unemployment will be significant to an evaluation of his skills and stability. Training for the job, whether acquired in school or by "just picking it up," will give indications of intelligence and resourcefulness. The service in public assistance will be that of stimulating the recipient to seeing his situation and deciding upon his own activity rather than the technical help provided by employment workers and vocational counselors.

Services to help the individual adjust to his environment will be of importance in this category. Since we know that the majority of recipients of aid to the permanently and totally disabled live in their own homes or in the homes of relatives or friends, helping the individual make the most of his home setting is a particular area in which new or expanded services can be offered. Careful evaluation of the positives in the individual's living arrangements will be the base from which we proceed. For most people, retaining family ties in the community results both in social and in economic advantages. An imaginative approach to the responsibility of a relative means not only determining how much the relative can contribute toward defraying living expenses of the disabled individual, but also in what ways he can contribute to morale, provide care, and widen the recipient's interest. As home-care programs are developed in more communities, knowledge of the living and latent potentialities in the families of recipients who can

benefit from such care will be an important factor in the rapid development and efficient utilization of this service. One medical authority says that in home care in general, the type of disease is less important than the adjustment of the patient and the family to the illness.

Judging from the types of major permanent impairments that recipients of aid to the permanently and totally disabled have, they will be a representative sample of the chronically ill for whom home-care programs fill an individual as well as a community need. No public assistance agency can afford not to be an active participant in gathering facts which will stimulate the development of such programs.

Homemakers' services now available to some families with children and to some aged persons should be carefully explored and examined for their meaning in services to the disabled. Whether homemakers for the permanently and totally disabled should have the same or different qualifications and skills, whether the responsibilities will be the same as in other categories, how their duties will differ from those of visiting housekeepers, practical nurses, or visiting nurses who may from time to time be involved in the care of the disabled, are areas we shall have to study in the interest of providing adequate as well as proper services.

In defining permanent and total disability, states may include persons with a permanent impairment, disease, or defect who are substantially precluded from engaging in a useful occupation which is within the individual's competence. Coverage need not be restricted to the completely helpless. Some of the recipients of aid in this category will have potentials for employment. The National Conference of Social Work committee report made it clear that persons receiving disability assistance for whom vocational rehabilitation is feasible should have the opportunity to be rehabilitated and urged closer working relationships with rehabilitation agencies.

In the course of reviewing state plans and in consultation with state staff we have observed a variety of approaches to achieve this end. In some states working agreements with vocational rehabilitation agencies have been in effect in practice as well as on paper for some time. In others, agreements were entered into some time

ago, but breakdowns have occurred along the way. In still others, public assistance and rehabilitation people are having their first real look at each other to learn what each does and what each has to offer. Increased understanding of the respective responsibilities and common purposes of both types of agencies is essential to meeting the needs of the group for whom such service was designed. Sound complementary program relationships can be built only on mutual appreciation of purposes and methods. As we refine our working relationships we can clarify difficult policy areas, improve referral methods and procedures, and coordinate different skills in the best interests of the disabled individual. Public assistance agencies will have the opportunity to bring to public notice the lacks in facilities and services for rehabilitation. As part of the community, they should join ranks with the private and public agencies in this field who are spearheading the drive for more adequate funds, facilities, and personnel to carry on a much-needed job.

The public assistance worker will offer services which will help the recipient move from where he is to where he wants to go as he evidences interest and capacity to use what is available. The worker gives him a picture of what the assistance agency and the rehabilitation agencies can do. He can facilitate the recipient's getting to, and remaining in contact with, the agencies which have the specialized skills and facilities for physical restoration and vocational guidance, adjustment, or rehabilitation. The service in public assistance will be helping the recipient toward realization of his vocational capacities.

If we consider only the monetary costs of rehabilitation, there must be coordinated administrative planning to prevent duplication and waste in the utilization of resources. If we consider the meaning of rehabilitation to the individual, harmonizing our efforts in his behalf will give him support and consistency in achieving his best personal and social adjustment.

Heartening progress has been made both in strengthening the worker's skills in identifying essential services and in services actually made available to recipients. Administratively, medical consultation is available in every state agency which has a program for the permanently and totally disabled. A few states have consulting

psychiatrists. Qualified social workers are members of the review team which makes the decision on eligibility. There are more medical-social workers in public assistance programs today because of this category than ever before. One state which is not required to use the team for review because it limits its program to the completely helpless, has hired two medical-social consultants!

Public assistance agencies are improving ways of working more closely with vocational rehabilitation agencies. In two regions, representatives of state public assistance and vocational rehabilitation agencies have had meetings in which all the states in the region discussed their mutual problems and made plans for resolving those that they could. In two other regions some of the states have similar meetings. Others are being planned.

Public assistance workers are learning more about the recipient as a person, more about resources for medical care, and are being more helpful, earlier, to recipients of other categories of assistance when illness occurs, or is existent when the family comes to the assistance agency. They are more conscious of the various factors affecting the individual and services essential to helping him to help himself.

We are learning that many individuals who never before had a medical work-up are being examined carefully and thoroughly, not only by the physician of choice but also by specialists, and are having the benefit of diagnostic tests. Persons who had resigned themselves to invalidity have learned that there is hope for some improvement. Some have undergone medical or surgical treatment and are now a part of a vocational rehabilitation regime. Some have been returned to being able to care for themselves. Some have been able to accept employment.

Services for the disabled, as for other groups, involve a variety of programs, agencies, institutions, and skills. They require bringing together various disciplines and pooling efforts. The types, quality, and quantity of essential services are dependent upon a community's understanding and appreciation of the need for such services and its expressed willingness to provide them. Public assistance agencies must continue to take positive constructive action to reflect understanding and appreciation of this need in their policies

and standards. Willingness to provide services in public assistance must be implemented by appropriations which will permit adequate assistance payments, sufficient staff to carry caseloads of reasonable size, competent supervisors, specialized consultants, and opportunities for training, both on the job and through educational leave. The worker who makes the early contact with the recipient is a key person in providing services. If the worker is to act responsibly as a representative of an agency, that agency should provide an administrative setting within which responsible action is fostered.

One of the joys of the democratic way of life is the mobility open to us. We can move about freely from place to place. Our rights or achievements are not limited by class or economic status. Despite categories of assistance as legislative expedients, the disabled are not a caste. Services for this group can open new frontiers to individual development for fuller social participation and usefulness.

An Approach to Family Agency Research

By **ELIZABETH HERZOG**

ONE THING THAT I HAVE LEARNED from two rich years in this field is that when talking to caseworkers it is a good idea to talk about cases. Therefore I shall sketch briefly two "cases" and then run through a few generalizations that seem to me either to emerge from, or to be documented by, them. (Caseworkers are not unique in preferring to talk cases, but their preference is unusually clear-cut. It is a healthy preference and one that—held in context and in perspective—is basic to the best scientific thinking.)

My remarks will be limited to the kind of research with which the program of the Jewish Family Service, Inc., of New York, is concerned; that is, research confined to examination of the casework contact and its outcome for the client.

My cases are not client cases but research examples. The chief one is the study we are doing now—a study of a relatively new feature in our agency, known as the "return" interview. This is an interview held some months after the end of a sustained casework contact. It enables caseworker and client to survey together what has happened for the client since the end of his sustained contact, how stable his gains appear to be, how ready he is to carry on by himself. ("The client" may, of course, be one or more individuals.)

This study of the return interview, like all our studies, has a dual goal. We think of it as a "bifocal" goal, with long-term and immediate objectives. The long-term goal is the goal of our whole research program: evaluation of the effects of casework. When they are good, what are they? How stable are they? How can they be recognized and tested? Are there consistent relationships between casework success and the characteristics of clients, of problems, of caseworkers? Corollary to all these is the question: How can positive results

be achieved more effectively, more permanently, and more quickly?

We have a hunch—more respectably called a “hypothesis”—that for us the best starting place is in the postcontact experience of the client. Others are proceeding on different hypotheses. For example, in his impressive work¹ at the Community Service Society, Dr. Hunt began with caseworkers’ judgments about the client’s movements during contact and proposes eventually to check these judgments against the client’s subsequent experience. It is not our thesis that one approach is right and the other wrong, but rather that the objective is so large, so complex, and so elusive that different approaches will be required and answers will come in fragments.

It is our further hypothesis that the return interview is a likely place to find clues that will help us discover precisely what one must pick up and examine in order to evaluate the nature, the degree, and the stability of help received through casework. We expect this study to help us define our questions rather than to present us with answers. To give an example: we plan eventually to do a follow-up study in which we will go out and interview clients a number of years after the contact is ended. The present study should help us know exactly what to look for in that later, more ambitious project.

Other studies will intervene between this one and that one, however. The return interview study will contribute toward each of these, increasing our knowledge of how to set the study up, our ability to interpret what we find, our recognition of significant relationships, our hunches about what we should look for. To illustrate how one study can interlock with another, we are expecting eventually to examine patterns of reapplication. The immediate impetus to the reapplication study grew out of an earlier study of short-contact cases, in which we were impressed by the definite patterns of reapplication and their apparently varied meanings; and also by indications that some caseworkers seemed to have stereotypes and expectations about reapplicants which may or may not be supported by the facts. Some data from the study of the return interview will actually form part of the study of reapplications,

¹ See J. McV. Hunt and Leonard S. Kogan, *Measuring Results in Social Casework: a Manual on Judging Movement* (New York: Family Service Association of America, 1950).

which in turn will owe a good deal to the earlier study of short-contact cases.

Obviously, our journey toward ultimate evaluation of casework effects is scheduled to be long, slow, and rough. We assume that it will take years to come within striking distance of that goal. Almost no agency, however, is so organized and so financed that it can afford—as some foundations can—to spend years working toward a distant goal without realizing some practical benefits along the way. This is where the short-term goal comes in—the other target in our bifocal program. The study is so designed that it will also have immediate applications useful for the current practice of the agency.

It is still too early to report findings but it is possible to suggest what practical benefit has already been felt and what is anticipated. The results of this, as of almost any research study, will be of two kinds: (1) a checking of prevailing impressions to see to what extent they correspond with the facts; (2) the discovery of facts and relationships that were not previously perceived.

Our preliminary exploration, for example, has already modified some of our assumptions about the way this rather new feature of the return interview is actually practiced in our agency. There is considerable diversity in the manner and time of the first mention of the interview; in the interval before the return interview and in the basis for deciding whether it should be two, three, six, or eight months; in the arrangements for single or joint interviews in cases with more than one client. We have found variations in the concept of the return interview whether it is viewed as a single interview or as a process that may include several. We have seen need both for flexibility and for greater clarity in its structure. Final analysis of the case records should help toward understanding the surprising diversity of functions served by the return interview. To name a few, it may be a review and stock-taking, an antidote to a client's anxiety about being on his own or to a feeling that a caseworker is rejecting him, a completion of the ending process.

It is relevant both for practice and for research that this interview is usually recorded quite differently from those held during contact, more briefly, with more interpretation and less supporting

evidence. The study may change this; it has already resulted in an improved form of closing summary for all extended cases.

I have tried merely to illustrate the kinds of things we have found or expect to find, and the way they relate to our goal. It may be asked: Why should a study be necessary in order to learn just what is being done in practice? Yet only by methodical study can we discover the extent to which we are actually doing what we think we are doing. No matter how energetic an agency may be in staff education and supervision, the research process is apt to reveal information surprisingly different from that gained in the course of day-to-day practice. Even though the supervisor may know far more about casework than the researcher, supervisory study is done with a different purpose, a different viewpoint, and a different selection of records.

It may be asked further: Just how does all this differ from what we have been doing before? Research in social casework, as I see it, is a body of methods designed to help us be more clear about what we are doing for the client and how we can do it better. The aim is not new; from the beginning, this aim has characterized the best casework approach. What is relatively new is for social casework to import and adapt the research methods worked out by the neighboring social sciences, in an effort to secure tested answers, systematically derived. It is relatively new to have this effort made by people who work at it full time, who have been trained to reformulate familiar problems in terms that can be tested, and to challenge assumptions that have been either sacrosanct or unperceived; trained also to recognize and either eliminate or allow for elements and accidents that might distort results, to atomize material so that its separate ingredients can be detected, isolated, and assessed. I wish I could add that these people have been trained to do all this without either violating or merely muffing the intangibles and the dynamics of the materials with which they work. This I cannot claim. For the most part, the people trained in research techniques are social scientists, unfamiliar with social casework, and subject to all the limitations of their respective disciplines and temperaments.

This brings us to our second "case," which has to do with a way

of working rather than with a specific study. It is the research team, which represents an effort to compensate for professional frailties through interdisciplinary collaboration. At our agency the team consists of a caseworker with a thorough grounding and experience in casework practice and supervision and a research scientist with a background in anthropology and sociology but with no training or experience in social casework. Probably an increasing number of people will soon combine training and experience in social casework and in the research methods evolved by the various social sciences. These students, I hope, will not be learning the methods of psychology or sociology or anthropology, but will be trained in social casework research, drawing upon the techniques of other disciplines but different from any one of them. Even then we shall need help from marginal fields, for we can hardly expect anyone ever to master all the available potentialities. But certainly until we have people trained both in research techniques and in casework techniques we shall have to rely on collaboration between those that command the separate areas.

For the competent individual who becomes part of such a research team, one of the primary prerequisites is a healthy humility. If each member of the team is sensitive to what he does not know, he will be alert to the great gamut of pitfalls, including the semantic ones—the danger of using different words for the same things and the far greater danger of using the same words to mean different things. It is difficult to know which member has most need for humility. When a research scientist is called in, whether as consultant or as part of a continuing team, there is often a dangerous tendency to assume that if he does not have all the answers now, he knows just how to get them. There sometimes seems to be a dangerous tendency on the part of the social scientist to assume the same thing, though the more he learns about casework the more his cloak of omniscience shrinks. On the other hand, a lone researcher in a casework agency sometimes needs to remind himself that it is his job to question the canons of the field as well as to understand them.

My chief wish for any social scientist inducted into a casework agency would be a sufficient period of browsing before he actually

starts to design a study. But there are ways of making the indoctrination period productive for the agency also. For example, part of the preparation for our study of the return interview was a series of intensive interviews with caseworkers, supervisors, and executives, about the return interview. They were asked, for example, to give their ideas of its function, its values, its hazards; whether it is part of the contact proper or an addendum; whether what happens during the interim is influenced by the very setting up of a return interview; what the difference is between this kind of interview and deliberately interrupted contact. In addition to briefing me for analysis of the case records, the results of these discussions provided useful material for staff meetings and seminars.

The interviews with staff held a secondary value, in demonstrating that the function of research is to serve the casework staff; and that the staff can benefit by the research, even before the final results are in. Most of those who were interviewed said that the discussion had made them look with new eyes at a familiar part of practice—and one value of research is precisely its ability to help us view the familiar with new eyes.

My two research cases—the study and the research team—have yielded a number of generalizations, of which only a few can be mentioned here. None is new, although they have acquired new meaning for me through my recent experience.

My first generalization is this: It is far more important to safeguard the quality of research than to increase its quantity. In telling something of what we are trying to do and the values we see in it, I have no crusading spirit about promoting research in social casework. I believe that the best research comes in response to recognized need, that the need for it is increasingly recognized, and that there is more danger in speedy expansion than in slow, organic growth.

Safeguarding quality does not mean uniformity. It takes many kinds of studies, using many kinds of methods and many kinds of data to add up to a real understanding of what we need to know about casework. We need to draw more richly than we have done on anthropology and sociology as well as on psychology, for method and content. We are only beginning, for example, to recognize

cultural factors and to remember the economic factors. In drawing on research techniques, it should be repeated, we need to adapt and evolve methods rather than merely graft them onto our material.

To safeguard quality we do need freedom from undue pressure to produce, meaning pressure for too much speed and also pressure for pretentious results. To the nonresearch person the most staggering thing about almost any research seems to be the amount of time it takes, the fragmentary nature of the results, and the number of qualifications with which they must be garnished—facts of life to which the researcher has long been habituated.

A second generalization is that both quality of research and freedom from pressure require realism in setting goals, tailoring scope and method to fit resources of time and money.

Realism in this sense means, for one thing, tackling problems that are feasible. Tackling them in small bites rather than with enormous gulps can facilitate immediate practical results.

Such realism includes adapting projects to the qualifications of those engaged in them. It is possible, though unusual, for an agency without a continuing research staff to produce a sound study. In such a case, however, either a research consultant must be employed or the study should be strictly descriptive, with no attempt to present and evaluate statistical findings. There is room for exploratory studies which report elements present and suggest possible relationships, but do not report the frequencies or the relative proportions in which different elements are found.

Realism also requires that the research staff or consultant should be brought in early enough. Typically, the researcher is called too late and finds a study all set up or a questionnaire already sent out. This is like asking a builder to erect a house after a rickety foundation has been laid. Again and again the harried consultant will be told, "We know exactly what our questions are; we only want you to analyze our results." A major part of the research job, however, is the formulation of questions that will bring the information needed to meet the problem; and to formulate these questions in terms susceptible to research is a very different task from formulating them in terms significant for casework practice.

A third generalization is that the value of the research done can be enhanced by active coordination. Few agencies at present can afford full-fledged research departments, or even the services of a research consultant. It is possible, however, to make the most of the research that can be done, not only by safeguarding its quality but also by various degrees of collaboration.

One of the sad things about research in any field is that so many projects begin in a vacuum and end in quarantine. We could profit by coordination of efforts. This may take the form of exchanging information, of setting up related, interlocking studies, of repeating a study in a different setting in order to test its conclusions, or of picking up one feature of a study and developing it.

Another way to relate efforts is through systematic comparison of studies undertaken independently—of their basic design and the assumptions on which it is based, and of their findings. This kind of comparison, incidentally, might be more profitable as a subject for student theses than original research in which the student is allowed to blink at inadequacies of data and method. Both kinds of coordination are more feasible in a relatively new field like social work research than in one like sociology which has grown to overwhelming proportions.

Agencies that do not do research can profit by the findings of others. But they can also contribute directly. An outstanding example is an article by Dorothy V. Thomas.² She picks up certain features of a study made by the Family Service Association of America,³ adding material that greatly illuminates its findings. Her own experience and figures available in her agency give the basis for reanalyzing, building on to, and enriching an important study in the field. To this extent, Miss Thomas has collaborated in research from a distance. This kind of contribution requires the imagination and the critical capacities essential to research, but no specific research apparatus, and it represents the kind of fertilization of materials that is much needed and seldom found.

My last generalization is that certain problems are not appro-

² Dorothy V. Thomas, "The Relationship between Diagnostic Service and Short-Contact Cases," *Social Casework*, XXXII, No. 2 (February, 1951), 74.

³ Ann W. Shyne, *Short-Contact Cases in Family Service Agencies* (New York: Family Service Association of America, 1948).

priate for research within an agency, even assuming unlimited resources. For example, our research team believes that the controversy between the diagnostic and functional orientations has reached a point where intensive research is in order, to answer questions that are disturbing the field.⁴ Such research, however, would need to be sponsored by several agencies or by some broader organization. There are other more basic questions requiring research which, because of their content as well as their breadth, could not be attacked effectively within the framework of a single agency or school. Some of these have been pointed out by William Gordon, David French, and others.⁵

Doubt has been expressed whether our own research goal, the evaluation of casework, is appropriate to an agency setting. Yet implicitly almost any research in social casework relates to this ultimate objective. The final criterion in examining even the smallest and most specific feature of casework practice is what happens for the client. How he is served, how he can be served better, are the ultimate questions to which all our answers relate. The most modest study, if it is sound, can add to the fund of knowledge on which we shall be drawing in our efforts to find valid ways of knowing with more certainty what has been accomplished and how the results of casework can be made more effective. In this sense all of us who do research in this field are jointly engaged in one large project. The more we can help each other by the exchange of experiences, hunches, discovered facts and relationships, the more firmly and directly can we approach this ultimate research goal. And the great incentive for striving toward it is the belief that it represents an important means to better casework.

⁴ Elizabeth Herzog and John Frings, "A Proposed Next Step in the Diagnostic-functional Issue," *Social Casework*, XXXIII, No. 4 (April 1952), 140.

⁵ David G. French, "How Evaluate Social Work Services?" Report to Michigan Welfare League, September, 1951; William E. Gordon, *Toward Basic Research in Social Work* (St. Louis: George Warren Brown School of Social Work, Washington University, 1951).

Social Group Work Practice and Social Responsibility

By CLARA A. KAISER

THE AFFIRMATION OF THE COMMITMENT contained in the question "Is social group work's commitment to preparation of the individual toward assuming social responsibility in maintaining and constantly improving our democratic society explicit in practice?" was made in 1949 in the report of a committee of the American Association of Group Workers. This committee, under the chairmanship of Grace Coyle, made a noteworthy contribution by formulating the social goals and ethical values inherent in the responsibilities and functions of social group workers in a democratic society. This declaration of our beliefs and aspirations was compiled from numerous statements collected by the committee from members of the profession. It is high time that we test these affirmations in the light of our performance in a period when powerful and insidious forces are threatening to obstruct the free exercise of the rights of human beings to think and act responsibly in maintaining and improving our democratic society.

I shall indicate briefly how we as professional social group workers may examine our avowed purpose of helping prepare individuals for assuming social responsibility in community life. The carrying out of the specific objectives which agencies seek to further through group education and action demands committed and skilled leadership on the part of the professional social group workers, whose responsibility it is to enable groups more effectively to meet individual needs and to further the social goals of the group and the agency. What are the essential attributes which social group workers must possess to fulfill these responsibilities as practitioners in the agency and as professional persons? It seems to me that the requirements for sound and effective professional con-

tribution fall into two main categories. The first is in the realm of "beliefs" and the second in the realm of "disciplines," and they are completely interdependent. Let me give an example of this interdependence in relation to one of our most pernicious problems in human relations—prejudice of one group toward another. To help individuals and groups to change their feelings and actions toward one another involves both a conviction as to the values inherent in the kind of change we seek and knowledge and skill in motivating individuals and groups to change. This means that the social group worker must be able and willing to scrutinize his own attitudes toward people different from himself and to change them when they are not in accord with his avowed belief in human brotherhood. It also means that he must have knowledge of the psychological, cultural, and social factors which engender prejudice and fear in individuals and groups and the insight and skill to use his relationship with others in helping them to change their attitudes and behavior. How often do we find ourselves becoming the protagonists and interpreters of one group against whom discrimination and prejudice are directed and unconsciously allow ourselves to think and act in stereotyped ways about other groups who differ from our own patterns of feeling and behavior? The disciplines in the realm of the sciences of human behavior and social relations on which our practice rests must fortify and clarify our own values and convictions as well as augment our perceptions and abilities to work with others.

In strengthening the effectiveness of our practice we must therefore bring into and hold in our profession persons who are motivated by their belief in causes which are directed toward the improvement of human welfare but who also are capable of growth in their ability to acquire and utilize the disciplines involved in professional service. To a large extent the quality of personnel who will be attracted to a profession depends on the demonstrated performance of those already practicing in the field. We have a grave responsibility for interpreting the need to young persons possessing these qualities to enter our profession. For those in positions at the administrative and supervisory level there is a further responsibility to enable and support the beginning practitioner to func-

tion to the fullest of his capacities in furthering the social objectives of his profession and of the agency. This involves helping him to relate to, and work with, the lay leadership on boards and in the community as well as the membership and participants in the program.

What evidence can we offer that we are effective in making explicit in practice the socialization of individuals through group experience? Perhaps we should ask ourselves why we are failing to produce more individuals from among our group members who are socially aware and able to function effectively in programs concerned with improving our democratic society. There are a few reasons which seem to me pertinent to this question:

1. In defining and refining our sphere of professional functioning we have tended, as have other aspects of our profession, to draw our lines too narrowly. We have stressed the conditions under which our disciplines can be fully used rather than the social purposes to which they may be put. Social group work like social casework is a means for releasing the capacities of human beings to grow and to function more effectively as individuals and as members of social groups. Social group work principles and methods are as pertinent to groups responsible for determining social policies, administering services, or promoting social action as they are to groups formed mainly to serve the interests of their members. Too often we park our professional insights and skills and even our purposes outside the door when we act as members of the staff or participate in committees with board members or community representatives.

2. In our effort to avoid dogmatic judgments of human behavior and social values we have focused our criteria of group achievement mainly on what we call the "social group work process." This preoccupation with the significance of the process by which people relate to each other in groups has served to dull our critical faculties with regard to the content of the group's activities and progress toward more productive, socially meaningful experiences. A visitor from a European country in commenting on educational emphases in the schools in her country said that all students in secondary schools must learn to speak at least one foreign language.

The difficulty is, she commented, that they learn to speak French or German but they do not know what to say. Are we helping people to relate to others in groups without helping them to accomplish meaningful goals through the group?

3. In many social agencies there are individuals participating in groups who are emotionally and socially maladjusted and who need the help which positive group experience can afford them if they are to develop capacity for productive social functioning. Social group work is increasingly recognized as offering valuable contributions to the treatment of personality disorders whether it is with individual members of groups in a recreation-education agency or in groups composed of persons brought together specifically for treatment purpose. Emotionally and physically healthy persons are essential in building a healthy society. As social group workers we must constantly develop our insights and skills for more effective methods of dealing with needs of individuals. We should not, however, in so doing, lose sight of the importance of helping people through group efforts to attack the social causes of individual maladjustment. The concern of social group work for individual adjustment and development and for more favorable social conditions is indivisible.

4. Social group workers are prone to blame the lack of emphasis on social issues in the programs of groups on the indifference or opposition of other people. Usually it is the boards who are regarded as antagonistic to social action programs, or group members are disinterested and apathetic to any effort to involve them in learning about, or taking action in, the realm of community or public affairs. Without doubt, this feeling is to some extent justified. However, it is also true that the professional workers are not themselves aware of social problems affecting the lives of the membership and alert to ways in which groups in the constituency could be stimulated to take an active interest.

5. Most social workers, and social group workers in particular, are by the nature of their professional activities cut off from participation as persons in many aspects of community and civic life. We do not seem to have time or energy left for actively engaging or taking leadership in the communal and civic groups in the

communities where we live. When we participate in groups in the communities where we work it is usually in a representative or professional capacity. This is an anomaly since we should by virtue of our training and experience have something valuable to offer by our participation in groups concerned with the enrichment of community life. Perhaps as we make progress in achieving more satisfactory standards of personnel practices we may learn more about what it means to be preparing individuals to become socially responsible and productive citizens by participating more fully in community life as persons and citizens ourselves.

As an increasing number of social group workers are preparing for practice in professional schools of social work, we must raise the question as to whether or not the educational experience offered by the schools is producing workers who are equipped to fulfill the professional responsibilities entailed in social group work practice, particularly in the realm of developing socially responsible individuals. As one who has been engaged in the teaching of social group work for many years, I feel very humble with respect to the progress we have made in providing a well-rounded professional education experience for students preparing for our field. The schools have a particularly grave responsibility in this field of social work because as yet only a small proportion of social group workers has completed a systematic professional educational program. It has always been my contention that professional schools of social work cannot make social workers. They can only contribute to the prospective professional person a systematic and disciplined learning experience which is aimed at developing the potentialities of the individual student into becoming a professional person.

Some of the same tendencies mentioned earlier as characterizing the field of practice are present in the emphases in content and method taught in the schools. Much that a student of social work must learn and become is in the realm of intangibles. We cannot teach people to develop a social philosophy but we can and must provide the kind of climate and afford the intellectual and emotional stimulus which can contribute to the growth of the individual student as a carrier of the basic social values motivating the

kind of service which social work renders to the community. This climate and stimulus must come not only from within the school but from the field itself since so large a part of the actual learning takes place in the student's practice in field work. Not only should our courses dealing with basic subject matter in the realm of human behavior and social process be enriched and more effectively integrated and balanced, but the field work experience must afford a student a broader view of the total job involved in carrying out the stated functions of the social group worker and a more understanding and realistic conception of how his disciplines may be related to those of other persons concerned with the same ends.

The worker trained in a school of social work is still somewhat suspect by many of our experienced and seasoned workers as being more concerned with his own professional development than with the needs of the people served in the agency. There may be good reasons for this attitude, but more often the beginning practitioner just out of school is overwhelmed with the things he must learn about the agency, the community, and the people he is working with, and unless he has the skilled and understanding support from persons with greater experience to guide him he may retreat into a kind of pseudo professionalism. Only workers who can see their job whole can make significant contributions to the members in the agency program with regard to helping them develop potentials for responsible social participation in group and community life.

It is vitally important, therefore, that all elements in the field continue to cooperate even more closely in this effort to raise the caliber of professional workers entering the field and to provide to them the best training for professional practice in it. Our professional associations, agencies, and schools must share more fully in determining the direction and content of professional education programs both in schools and in agency in-service training. Special efforts should be made to give social group workers greater incentives and more adequate skill in the area of social and civic education. Encouraging discussion and action on issues affecting the welfare of the community should not be confined to work with adult groups, but an interest in, and concern for, social problems

affecting their present and future lives should be fostered and stimulated in work with children and adolescents. In spite of the emphasis on social studies in most American school curricula, the youth of this country are less socially and politically aware than is that of many other countries. Our fear of political indoctrination has deprived our youth of the sense that they may have a potent voice in determining the kind of social order in which they live and for which they must take future responsibilities. If our democratic society is to be maintained and improved, American youth must be helped to play an intelligent and responsible role, and agencies affording social group work services should share with the school, the family, the church, and other community institutions this task.

I must reiterate how important it is for professional social group workers individually and collectively to clarify and articulate our social purposes in more explicit terms and then to take leadership in implementing their realization through effective group and community action. We cannot work alone in this task. We must relate our efforts to those of other forces concerned with the improvement of our social institutions and the enrichment of human welfare. We must learn what to work for as well as what to work against. This is not easy at a time such as this when innovations are often mistaken for subversion and desire for change as disloyalty to existing values. We need more ringing statements of what is the true American way, such as that recently set forth jointly by the National Council of Jewish Women and the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association:

We do not believe our country can preserve liberty by curtailing it. The rights of a free people are neither self-perpetuating nor frozen into permanent being by inclusion in the Constitution. To survive under stress, these rights must be asserted and reasserted. Freedom, to be kept alive, must be used. To encourage this fuller use is our objective.

Then perhaps we can assess our accomplishments rather than question our assumptions.

The Young Adult in the Current Social Scene

By MELVIN A. GLASSER

THE CYNICISM AND DISILLUSIONMENT OF YOUTH so aptly expressed by Dorothy Parker in her little poem "In the Twenties," the gin parties, the flapper, and the Charleston are all looked back upon now with something akin to nostalgia. The whole host of recent books dealing with flaming youth of the twenties has shed new light and understanding on youth of that period.

Paradoxically, much less is apparently known about the present young adult group in our society. By "young adults," for purposes of this presentation, I mean the age group of sixteen to twenty-five. Our young adults are, by and large, less attention-arresting than their iconoclastic predecessors of the twenties or their parents who were the rootless youth of the depression. Somehow this group of young adults commands less attention today though their needs and problems seem at least as complicated as those of previous generations.

In discussing the young adult in the present social scene, I think it is fair to say that very little is known about him. In the development of the fact-finding materials for the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth we found again and again that there were many important gaps when it came to information about the needs and problems of this group. Accordingly, what I say will be based upon impressions, observation, and such studies as are reported on in the literature.

I am convinced, however, that far more attention needs to be paid to this group by social workers and others, for it is clearly a crucial one in our society. These are the young people who are defending our country against major threats from abroad. Of the estimated three and a half million men in the armed forces, about

70 percent are under twenty-five years of age. This is the group which is now making the occupational choices and selecting and establishing values for themselves which, in composite, will set patterns for our country in the years ahead. This is the group where most of the marriages are taking place. This is the group for whose loyalty conflicting national ideologies are competing. The World Assembly of Youth, the International Federation of Democratic Youth, etc., are not esoteric concepts; they are demonstrations of the importance that democratic and totalitarian philosophies attach to winning the allegiance of today's young people.

It seems imperative, therefore, that as social workers and as Americans we take a long, hard look at young adults—at who they are, what they are like, and what this may mean in our work with them:

1. Young adults now make up a proportionately small group in the population but one that will shortly become proportionately much larger.

About one out of every seven in the total population of the United States is a youth 14 to 25 years of age. There are 23,000,000 in this age group, 12 percent fewer than in 1940 as a result of the low birth rates during the depression years. Three out of every five of this group live in urban areas—about the same as the proportion for the general population.¹ Interestingly, however, the number of young adults 15-19 in the Western part of our country has increased 23 percent in the last 10 years while all other regions have shown a decrease. One out of eight in this age group is non-white, which usually means Negro.

It is essential that we plan thoughtfully now, for the postwar baby boom will become the youth boom of the 1960s as the babies grow up. It is estimated that in 1960 the nation will have 3,000,000 more youth 15 to 20 years old than we have now, an increase of nearly one-third. By 1965 and 1970 this increase will be even larger, with the concomitant strain upon all social institutions attempting to serve the needs of this age group.

2. Young people today get around more than did their counter-

¹ Supporting statistics are drawn mainly from publications of the United States Bureau of the Census and the Office of Education.

parts in years past. The 20- to 25-year-old group is the most mobile in this country. Between 1949 and 1950 one out of ten of the 20- to 25-year-olds moved his residence across county or state lines. The defense mobilization is increasing this rate. This raises some interesting questions for established services for young people.

3. Young people today have more education than their predecessors had. In the 14- to 18-year-old group, only 17 percent are out of school. In the 18- to 25-year-old group, only 15 percent are *in* school. Of the out-of-school group, 68 percent are employed. The balance are either unemployed or are young housewives out of the labor market. But there are still great unsolved problems in gearing our society and our education system to the needs of young people. Two out of five youth who enter high school drop out before graduation.

The figures for college education are phenomenal. In 1951 there was a 106 percent increase in the number of persons completing college as compared with 1941. In terms of formal education, our young people are better prepared for life. Access to college education is, however, far from being equally available to all young Americans. Proportionately fewer nonwhite and rural young people are enrolled in, and graduated by, colleges and universities than among their urban white contemporaries.

4. Young people are the most vulnerable group in the labor force. Despite our present high employment, in March, 1952, almost one out of every three of our unemployed was under 25 years of age. Young people making their first occupational choices are having difficulties in getting and holding jobs. Again, proportionately more Negro than white youths are unemployed. This underscores the added problem that young people in minority groups have in making satisfactory vocational adjustments.

5. Americans are marrying at younger ages. In 1890 men were, on the average, 26 years old at the time of first marriage as compared to 22½ years in 1951. Women were 22 years old at the time of first marriage in 1890, compared to 20½ years in 1951. As a tribute, perhaps, to the increasing attractiveness of American women there are 16 percent fewer unmarried women in the 20- to 24-year age group than there were a decade ago.

The children are coming along more rapidly too. In the 2,000,000 families with heads under 25 years of age last year, 59 percent of them had children.

6. Young adults continue to have financial problems in getting started in life. Heads of families under 25 years of age had an average income of \$2,613 in 1951 as compared with \$3,319 for all families in this country. This is a rather meager basis for starting a family, although in terms of cash the young father of today is doubtless better off than his predecessor of a decade or two ago.

7. Although, by and large, this is an age of health, many young people, because of illness, cannot participate fully in American life. Well over half a million youth 16 to 25 years of age suffer from disabling illness or other disabling conditions which prevent them from working or carrying on their usual daily activities on the job or in school, in the home, or elsewhere.

An analysis of who the young people are shows one other interesting factor. It shows that we are, in a sense, dealing with the two groups, namely, the 16- to 20-year group and the 20- to 25-year group. The first includes the young unmarried adolescent whose major activities are associated with group relationships. The second category consists of the more mature adult, the young married couple, the young parents. In a sense, the implications of this age division are of major importance in understanding what young adults are like and in determining the kinds of activities needed to serve them.

Students of the development of the 16- to 25-year age group frequently refer to this as the period of *sturm und drang*—the period of storms and stresses, the period of tensions, the period of questioning. This is also the period when the young person chooses a vocation and undertakes his first full-time job, when he selects a mate, and forms a personal philosophy of life.

The fact-finding studies of the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth give us perceptive insight into some of the major needs and problems of this age period. They describe how in the early years the child develops his sense of trust, his feeling of the importance of himself as a person, his initiative, and his accomplishment. During these earlier years the child is dependent

primarily upon his parents in forming attitudes and in making decisions.

As the child reaches adolescence he separates from parental control. He begins to seek other values and he substitutes what Talcott Parsons describes as the "youth culture" for dependence on his parents. He reaches adult status when he gets to the point in his development when his values and decisions are formulated neither by his parents nor by his "youth culture" but by himself.

1. *Finding one's self*.—This whole age period has been aptly described as the effort of the young person to find himself. In the material he prepared for the White House Conference, Erik Erikson sees four distinct stages in this development. The first is where the adolescent seeks to clarify who he is, what his role in society is to be. He is not sure whether he is child or adult. He is not sure what is expected of him. He has doubts as to whether he will be able to succeed.

These problems are accentuated by physiological changes which take place in this age period and by rapid physical growth. Needless to say, there is also a wide variation in rate and kind of development among individuals. This variation is based on congenital factors, earlier childhood experiences, differences in sensitivity, in body resilience and vulnerability, in intellectual endowment, and in their cultural and economic status.

This is the time when young people find comfort through similarity and stereotypes. They are seeking something to hang on to. The blue jeans with one trouser leg raised higher than the other stem from precisely the same need that makes for the drape-shape zoot suit. What is significant, though, is that one may be the symbol of the "in" group and the other of the "out" group. It is imperative that constructive social groups including clubs and organizations be made available for all young people of this age. We well know that when young people do not have access to these socially acceptable groups or are excluded from them, they form their own cliques and gangs, frequently antisocial in character.

It is interesting to note the way some groups become intolerant of other groups. In a negative way they help each group establish its differences from the other. Social group workers who have at-

tempted to get intergroup cooperation and instead have found fierce competition well know the implications of this conflict.

Erikson points out that if young people are not allowed to be different from the adults about them and are not accepted in this difference, they face the danger of self-diffusion. What they are struggling toward in banding together this way is to find values in life that are really their own and not those imposed by adults. One of the characters in Marc Connolly's *Green Pastures* describes how it feels when he says, "Everything that's nailed down has done come loose."

As social workers we are deeply concerned with the prevention and control of juvenile delinquency, with the million youngsters who each year come to the attention of the police and the 300,000 young people who come to the attention of juvenile courts. Many of these youngsters come from minority groups that are rejected by their peers. Many of them come from economically poor families who cannot keep up with the social standards of dress or dating of more well-to-do families. The parents of some make demands upon teen-agers which they cannot or will not tolerate. It is clear that this age group does not wish to be set apart from others of the same age. When they are set apart their rebellion takes the form of emotional, social, and sometimes even physical illness.

2. Personal relationships.—There follows, then, a transition from the youth culture to a stage of development that is a highly individualistic and often a lonely one. For now the young person seeks the intimacy of individual personal relationships in the form of friendship, love, and inspiration. The young person seeks ways in which he may find a person of the opposite sex with whom he can be intimate emotionally, socially, and physically. This sense of intimacy is an all-pervading sense rather than a physical fusing alone.

At approximately this time, too, vocational choices are made, and all the problems of finding one's place in society are accentuated. We are, the anthropologists tell us, a success-, achievement-oriented culture. Choice of a position gives prestige, but it is harder these days for young people to rise in the social scale. In that sense the class structure in our society is becoming more rigid.

3. *Parental sense.*—With marriage come not only the problems of finding a satisfactory mate but also those of adjusting to the personality and the needs of that mate. By this time the young person is completely on his own, or should be, and is faced with the problem of having to meet the success standards of society, including the standards of his family and those of his wife's family. With marriage, too, usually comes the wish to have children and to see one's self and one's group perpetuated, and so comes the whole crop of babies of young parents.

4. *Sense of integrity.*—The young person whose development has been healthy is thus able to achieve in adulthood what Erikson calls the "sense of integrity." He is able to accept himself and his own values, he is able to relate himself significantly to other people in his life, and he is able to see in perspective his role and his activities in relation to those of others within his orbit and within society. This is both a personal perspective and a time perspective that the mature adult achieves.

The young adult then has had to master his physiological and glandular changes, his separation from his family, his becoming part of, and then independent of, youth groups, his making a vocational choice, finding a satisfactory mate, and beginning a family. This sounds like a pretty overwhelming task and would be so if it were not for the resiliency of the human personality and the protections that our society sets up to help the young adult through this period.

5. *War and the threat of war.*—Our present scene brings on an added disrupting factor, namely, war or its threat and the concomitant interruption of the lives of many young people. Our experience in the past, particularly in the Second World War, has shown that there are a number of direct social consequences of a war situation. Courtship is speeded up. Hasty marriages become typical. Vocational choices are confused. Anxieties are increased. Husband-wife, parent-child separation are accentuated, and acute problems are created in finding adequate and satisfactory social and recreational outlets.

A great deal of attention needs to be given to the effect of the draft and military service on the sound development of young men

and young women. I believe that in the Second World War this country did a largely unsatisfactory job in helping young women who were not in the armed services find a meaningful place for themselves in our society. It seems to me that insufficient attention has been given to the role parents can play in helping the young man adjust to the prospect of military service.

Now that we have taken a brief look at who these young people are and what they may be like, what their needs and problems are, I shall outline a ten-point program which may help to strengthen and extend existing services designed to meet the needs of this crucial age group. This is not an all-inclusive program but rather some major considerations which derive, I believe, from the material I have presented.

1. We need to reexamine the existing programs for young adults in the light of the new knowledge about their developmental needs. It is well recognized that there are not nearly enough services to meet the needs of the young adult group. Yet it seems to me that existing services might be strengthened through reevaluation, through questioning of their traditional ways of working. For example, if we are to use constructively our understanding of the need for young people to set themselves off in groups different from others, then we need to bring the programs back to the young people. Too many youth programs today function to serve the objectives of national adult organizations. Too many are adult-dominated rather than based upon the self-determination of young people. We need also to ask how effective will programs for the late teen-agers be when these programs are based upon groups of all boys or all girls. At a point in life when the young person wants and needs to know people of the opposite sex, do not our programs have to help fulfill this need?

2. We need new services, particularly for the teen-age group. As I have traveled about the country and have read field reports, it has seemed to me that the teen-ager is very much the one who is left behind, in part possibly because this is a difficult age group with which to deal and in part because we have not had programs to offer. Self-directed, teen-age activities under responsible sponsorship which will help these young people form natural groups and

meet their developmental needs are among the basic goals for these services. The teen-age canteens, many of which were initiated during the Second World War, were a step in the right direction—but only a step.

It seems to me that the young women of this age group are particularly disregarded. In a period of national emergency like the present they are the ones, by and large, who are left out. Most of the young men in their late teens become a part of the armed forces. Older girls may go into defense or defense-related activities. But during the period when all the social pressure is upon every citizen to contribute to the strengthening of his country, the teen-age girl does not seem to have a place. New leisure-time services are created for men in the armed forces and defense workers. We seem headed back to the Second World War situation where the young girls were left to their own devices, to the street corners, to the nonparticipating, unsatisfactory role of observers of the passing scene.

3. We need to do a much better job of bringing into the social stream the out-of-school youth, the rural youth, the minority group young people. Much has been said and much has been written about providing services for the out-of-school group. It is a problem we have not yet solved. The needs of the out-of-school group are unique. They require special services if they are to be interested in constructive group activities, and, with important exceptions, we have not yet met the needs of this group. Many young people are out of school because they could not adjust to our educational system. Those of us who work with young people need again and again to join forces with our colleagues in the field of education, in moving toward the individualized school curriculum which will interest and help the young person in school.

We have seen how essential it is for young people to become a part of adult life in so far as their age and development will permit. We all recognize the need to help young people develop responsibility and the sense of belonging. Yet again and again minority groups are excluded from organized facilities for young people. When their own sense of self-worth is threatened so basically, is it any wonder they rebel? Is it any wonder they patronize cheap, com-

mercialized places of entertainment? These, together with the barbershop and the poolroom, are their youth-serving agencies. It is here their sense of isolation, hostility, and hopelessness is accentuated. Do we not need to see whether services for these young people can be made available through private resources, and if necessary through public resources?

We shall probably need to call upon public resources if we are to get better services to young people in rural communities. A study of leisure-time activities made in Keokuk County, Iowa, in 1951, and typical for many rural groups, showed that going to the movies was a major form of recreation for the young adult. Good, decent leisure-time services in rural communities are difficult and expensive, yet there are resources such as farm organizations, church groups, veterans organizations, and women's clubs which, with help, interpretation, and promotion, might well be encouraged to undertake newer patterns of rural organization to provide opportunities for young people to work together and play together.

4. We need to improve the kind of help given young people in making occupational choices. It seems to me that vocational counseling calls not only for knowledge of the various occupations and of the employment market, but for a high degree of understanding of the drives and needs of young people. In our American society one's life work, the level of one's occupation, the quality of one's performance, are major factors in giving status. Family and social position are of much less importance. Yet, at the same time, ours is a highly complicated society. Technological changes make for rapid differences in the organization of commerce and industry. Job requirements change, and young people make many errors in choice.

We face, too, the fact that frequently young people are forced into making vocational choices before they have found themselves as people, and hence their choice of occupation is often not valid. It seems to me we need vocational counseling that includes not only an understanding of one's aptitude for a position but also of one's readiness to make a choice.

5. We need to be more creative in developing special activities for young married couples and parents. In this crucial point in their lives when young people are facing major problems of adjustment

to each other and to adult life, society seems to leave them behind. Havighurst describes this group as "rootless, secular, socially lonely people with no feeling for the values of community life." Dr. Benjamin Spock and Margaret Mead emphasize that the isolation of young parents contributes to their confusion in child care. They are young and inexperienced. In earlier years when the grandparents lived in the same household or near by they acted as leavening influences. Now, mother reads a great many books and worries alone whether her child will be as good and as successful as the neighbor's child. Much of this loneliness, this confusion, and this isolation could be overcome if we provided clubs, discussion groups, and other channels specifically designed for young married people.

6. We need to do a better job of preparing young people for military service. Regardless of our personal or national wishes, it appears that military service will be an essential part of American life for some years to come. As a nation we have been reluctant to face this. We have considered it a temporary measure, to be tolerated for the moment, but it will be with us for some time to come. Once we can face this, we need to find ways in which, through schools, organizations, and other groups, young people can be given some understanding of the need for military service, what it is like, and what they may expect from it. We need to find ways too of helping parents understand and accept their own part in helping their sons deal constructively with the prospect of military service. As long as military service remains an unknown and resented interrupter of the normal way of life, so long will it accentuate the problems of the young men who go into the armed forces.

7. Professional education and training for work with young people need reemphasis. Understanding the developmental needs and the problems of our youth in today's society is a task requiring substantial knowledge based upon the contribution of many disciplines, including human relations, anthropology, and sociology, as well as their applications to casework and social group work. How to integrate this approach into the educational experience is an important challenge to schools of social work as well as to youth-serving agencies which offer staff development programs.

8. We need, in the words of the White House Conference plat-

form, to provide youth with "progressive opportunities to participate vitally in community activities." The developments in responsible youth participation in recent years are among the most exciting and the most promising in the entire area of work with the young adult. Young people are contributing to the development of themselves and their communities. They are being given early preparation for adult responsibility through working with their contemporaries and with adults on community activities.

Much needs to be done in helping young people become a part of community life to the extent that their time and maturity will allow. Special professional help will probably need to be made available, at least in the beginning, to enable young people to participate responsibly. But help is equally needed for the adult community leaders, many of them in our own social work profession, who find it difficult to see the contribution young people can make to adult projects, who are uncomfortable with young people, and who need to face some of their own resistances.

9. We need to do a much better job of getting and using the facts about the needs and problems of the young adult. We just do not know enough and we are learning very little about this group. We shall not learn more until schools of social work and practitioners in the field become research-minded and demand better answers to many of the vexing problems connected with providing services to young people. We need program research and basic research which bring together the skills and the insights of the many disciplines in the natural and social sciences which have concern with the functioning of the human being.

I have often thought that we shall only begin to make substantial progress in the young adult field when we have as comprehensive an approach to this age group as we have for many years had for the period of infancy and early childhood.

10. We need to give real help to young people in developing moral, ethical, and democratic values. The young adult takes from his peers and the society about him the concepts that contribute to his philosophy of life. Social workers, educators, religious counselors, and others who deal with this age group need a constant consciousness of their responsibility in helping youth see the related-

ness of their immediate needs and problems to those of their neighbors and the society as a whole. This is the period when young people can be aided in becoming socially motivated, when they can experience the meaning of democratic participation for their own good and the greater good of all.

As part of this it is recognized that a healthy democratic society permits its youth freedom to test and to question. We need constantly to work to overcome the climate of suspicion and fear which makes for unhealthy repression rather than expression of thoughts and feelings.

We are a highly mechanized, intricately organized society. But it is not more mechanization that is our great need. Today there are proportionately fewer young adults in our country than a decade ago. This situation is about to change. If we are to safeguard and advance the well-being of our country we need to use all our knowledge, insight, and creativity now in the interest of understanding and better serving the needs of today's youth and the many millions soon to reach the tumultuous, exciting, trying, formative years of young adulthood.

The Group Process in Adult Education

By **MALCOLM S. KNOWLES**

TRYING TO DESCRIBE THE GROUP PROCESS in adult education is on the same plane as trying to describe what people at all times in all places do in groups. For adult education has come to be perceived as a broad field encompassing practically all of adult life.

Lyman Bryson defines adult education as "including all the activities with an educational purpose that are carried on by people engaged in the ordinary business of life." Within this definition can be included such diverse activities as reading a newspaper for the purpose of learning about current events and attending an advanced seminar on social group work in order to improve one's professional skills after twenty years as a practicing social group worker.

Adult education groups can be classified into three general types for purposes of analyzing group process:

1. Those groups existing expressly for instructional purposes, such as organized classes in educational institutions or social group work agencies
2. Those groups which have a primary purpose that is not educational but which consciously carry on educational activities, such as women's clubs, parent-teacher associations, professional associations, and vocational organizations
3. Those groups which exist to perform operational functions but which must continually examine their experience and improve their efficiency of operation, such as policy-making boards, legislative bodies, executive staffs, and production teams.

Even within such broad categories as these are found wide variations in size, ranging from a steering committee of three to a public

lecture audience of several thousand; differences in levels of sophistication, competence of leadership, and richness of resources; and a divergency of form of organization that includes short courses, seminars, lecture series, discussion groups, institutes, conferences, staff meetings, and club meetings. Obviously, when we talk about group process in terms of the whole field of adult education we can talk about it only at a high level of abstraction. Accordingly, I shall describe only broad trends, general principles, current issues, and underlying assumptions.

In order to put our analysis of the group process in a broader context, here are some of the major trends in adult education in the middle of the twentieth century as seen from the literature and from the administrative headquarters of the Adult Education Association of the United States of America:

1. A revolution is in progress in the methodology of adult education away from the more or less standardized methods of the traditional classroom—the lecture, textbook assignment, recitation, quizzing—toward the methods of informal social group work—group discussion; cooperative projects; use of individual, group, and community experience.

2. Adult education is becoming increasingly community-centered, with such goals as: (a) training people in more effective participation in group and community problem solving; (b) making use of group and community forces on the individual to increase rather than inhibit desirable learning and satisfactory problem solving; (c) mobilizing the mass media in the effort to raise the educational level of the total population; and (d) projecting the educational process into the operational activities of the community.

3. An adult education profession is emerging, with professional standards and professional training suited to the peculiar requirements of the field. This professionalism is restricted almost entirely to the administrative level. The great mass of adult education practitioners are the part-time school teachers, the social group workers with other duties, and the hosts of volunteer leaders and teachers. Increasing attention is being given to the in-service training of these practitioners.

4. There is a growing emphasis on research. Long dependent upon inferences from research in the field of childhood education for its knowledge, adult education is rapidly developing its own research procedures and programs. A central concern of adult educational research to date has been the social group process, as exemplified by the work of the Research Center for Group Dynamics at the University of Michigan, the Ohio State Leadership Studies, the human relations laboratories at Chicago, California, Harvard, Yale, and elsewhere, and the industrial relations centers in a number of universities.

5. An adult education movement is developing, with unifying purposes and concepts becoming defined, and joint planning and interagency cooperation taking place.

The adult education field has for some time been in tension between two opposing philosophies of education which have greatly influenced methodology. One philosophy is derived from the concept of education as an instrument of social development. The ultimate objective of education, it states, is to produce individuals who are effective members of the societies to which they belong. Values are stated in terms of the cultural patterns of the society within which education functions. The ultimate objectives of education, therefore, are constantly changing as society changes. This philosophy has led to a methodological emphasis on the process of learning and leans heavily for resources on the problems and experiences of the individual, the group, and the community.

The second philosophy holds that the true end of education is the development of the intellect, character, appreciation, and physical well-being of each individual to the highest degree possible. The values flowing from this philosophy are derived deductively in terms of the good, the true, and the beautiful for all men in all places at all times. The immediate situation has no effect upon the ultimate objectives of education. This philosophy has led to a methodological emphasis on the content of learning and leans heavily for resources on the writings of great men and other elements of the capital of human experience.

An observer of groups led by extreme adherents of these two philosophies would have no difficulty in distinguishing between

them. In the first, the learning experiences would start with the needs, interests, problems, and experiences of the group and would proceed in directions determined by the group, with the leader serving alternately as a member of the group and as a resource person. In the second, the learning experiences would start with pre-determined textual materials and would proceed in directions determined by the teacher or curriculum planners, with the teacher guiding, directing, questioning, informing, and interpreting.

Happily, modern research technique has shown the way to cut to deeper levels than such metaphysical considerations and has begun to reveal some of the reality about how adults learn, with the result that a reconciliation is occurring in practice between the "content-centered" and the "process-centered" schools of thought. It is becoming widely recognized in the field now that how a person learns and what he learns are both important considerations.

Deep in our culture is imbedded the notion that the moving force of any group is the leader. It is natural, therefore, that much of the research on group behavior has focused on the leadership role.

Traditional theory and practice, according to Leland P. Bradford, have tended to entrench the leader or teacher as the dominant figure in the group by investing him with the controls considered necessary to give all points of view fair consideration, to insure equitable participation patterns, to secure productivity within stated limits, and to protect individual participants from emotional injury.

On the assumption that practically all responsibility and control for group behavior rests with the leader, this role typically has been given such responsibilities as: (a) to be informed on the subject; (b) to be responsible for providing sources of information; (c) to secure adequate representation of all points of view; (d) to keep discussion on the topic and insure progress; (e) to prepare an outline; (f) to evaluate; and to perform many other functions for the group. The assumption is that these responsibilities are inherent in the role of leader or teacher, if not by divine right at least by the nature of things.

When social scientists began their intensive study of group be-

havior this leader-centered notion of leadership was the accepted pattern of our culture. Studies by Kurt Lewin, Ronald Lippitt, and others began to uncover some questionable effects: overdependence upon a leader tended to produce immature group behavior; strongly dominant leadership tended to accentuate rivalry, tension, and conflict within the group, reduce morale and group productivity, and impede individual adjustment. In at least one instance the leader's attention on the subject caused the group to tend to freeze in a pattern of domination by a few members. Studies by Lewin and by Ben Willerman on changing food habits during the war present persuasive evidence as to the greater effectiveness of group decision over lectures and other leader-directed methods of inducing change.

As a result of these and other studies in such diverse fields as group dynamics, social psychology, social group work, education, psychotherapy, industrial relations, sociology, and anthropology, a new conception of the role of leadership is emerging. The assumptions or premises implicit in this approach are described by Bradford as follows:

1. The group is more than the sum of its members. It is a dynamic whole which has properties different from the properties of its parts. (It is, in a sense, a living organism, with a growth cycle starting with infancy and moving through childhood, adolescence, maturity, and senility.) This premise is of importance in a discussion of the group and of education. If a group exists and acts as more than the sum of its parts, then the behavior of the group and its causes must be studied and understood by those concerned with that group if goals are to be reached.

2. Groups can change or grow or develop in level of maturity and in increased productivity. As a result of this situation, it is important that attention be paid to aiding groups to gain greater maturity and independence. Suggested dimensions for determination of levels of group maturity include, among others: intercommunication among members of the group; group objectivity toward its own functioning; interdependent responsibility by all members for sharing leadership functions; flexible adjustment of group roles to group needs; group cohesion adequate to permit assimilation of new ideas and members without disintegration; resistance to avalanche forces; assimilation of shock; and skill in recognizing and achieving control of significant sociometric factors in the group structure.

3. Groups are responsible for the control of their own behavior. The concept of group growth fits into a concept of growing group responsibility for self-direction. Adherence to this concept, in turn, requires not only the acceptance by the group leader of group responsibility for its conduct, but also a new concept of the role of the leader. It calls for guidance and training to enable the group to grow in maturity. It requires, finally, a method by which the group can (a) secure data concerning its problems and weaknesses and (b) use these data in changing or improving itself.

4. Group control of its own behavior calls for a different concept of leadership than has been typical. Leadership thus would be defined as a function of the group and as having many different aspects and responsibilities which are shared by a number of people. To this extent leadership may be accepted in different ways and at different times by many group members, as well as by the designated leader.

Modern research has been pushed, by its own findings, in the direction of giving greater attention to the roles of group members. Various attempts have been made to describe the kinds of roles members take in groups. J. R. Gibb, in *Dynamics of Participative Groups*, produced this list: harmonizer, encourager, clarifier, initiator, energizer, questioner, listener, tension-reducer, opinion-giver, dominator, negativist, deserter, and aggressor. A central objective in group training is to develop in group members an understanding of the effects of the different member roles on group cohesiveness and productivity, and to train them to perform constructive roles effectively. Perhaps one of the chief functions of the designated leader is to serve as a trainer in group membership.

An illustration of the contrast between this group-centered approach and the traditional leader-centered approach to group process is contained in these "Suggestions for Group Members" developed by Gibb:

1. Responsibility for the group is shared by all members of the group. Identify with the group and its goals—if the group fails it is your fault, not the "group's" fault.

2. Decisions should always be made by the group. They are not made by the leader, any individual, or any clique—all important policies should be decided by the group. The group should set its own goals and decide on the techniques that it should use to accomplish them.

3. Be informal. It is helpful to use first names, wear informal cloth-

ing, arrange chairs in an informal way (circles not rows, etc.), encourage spontaneous discussion with few rules, as far as possible do away with voting, hand raising, formal debate, Robert's rules, etc.

4. Use methods which will allow as many as possible of the group to participate. Let group discuss frequently in subgroups; bring out minority and individual opinions by asking frequent questions of group members.

5. Be flexible. Be flexible in rules, agenda, and in all procedures in the group. You should establish an agenda for your meeting but you should always modify it when you find that the group wishes to modify it. The constitution or your procedural rules should change progressively as the needs and interests of the group change.

6. The group should cut down the threat to individual members. Get the group acquainted with each other as persons; use informal seating; minimize rules; separate the members of cliques or friendship circles; discuss the problem of status; use subgroupings to get members used to talking in the group.

7. The group should continually evaluate its progress. This may be done by evaluation sheets, process reports, subgroup discussions, suggestion boxes, etc. The important point is that it should be done often, briefly, and well.

8. Group members should be conscious of the importance of the roles they play in the group. Study the different roles that people can play, analyze the roles you play, consciously play roles that are helpful to group progress.

9. Sit so that if possible all members of group can easily see faces of all other group members. Sit in a circle or a double circle; do not have the leader sit or stand apart from the group; do not sit too close or too far apart; be comfortable.

10. Let the group be active. Let group members move around frequently; encourage an informal atmosphere; consciously provide for movement and verbal participation of all members.

One of the most recent developments in adult education methodology is experimentation with the application of principles of group-centered leadership to large meetings. Early results are promising. Such devices as "buzz sessions," group interviews, listening teams, role-playing, and the like have proved effective in achieving a high degree of participation in large meetings. For example, a "problem-centered" lecture can be given if the audience is first divided into "buzz" groups and asked to identify the problems they want the speaker to talk about. It appears that such a procedure as

this brings about a higher degree of listening involvement and better retention of learning than does passive listening.

The modern approach to group leadership in adult education seems to be in keeping with what we know about the nature of the learning process. It starts with the concerns and needs of the learners. It involves the learner in defining the goals of the group. It achieves a maximum of interaction between the learner and his material and human environment. It provides for continuous and meaningful evaluation.

It would be a mistake to convey the impression, however, that such an approach to groups is characteristic of all adult education practice in 1952. Such is not the case. Without question the traditional approach is still dominant. But the new trend is making fast progress, as exemplified by the increasing number of training institutes using this approach throughout the country, the increasing attention given it in the literature (including the new monthly magazine for lay leaders, *Adult Leadership*), and the practice of the methods in the committees and conferences of the Adult Education Association.

DISCUSSION¹

By W. L. KINDELSPERGER

MR. KNOWLES'S PAPER attempts to summarize the current status of adult education in the United States as revealed in its philosophies, methodology, and research activity. The items most specifically related to group processes are dealt with under this broad context.

Mr. Knowles indicates what he considers to be the scope of modern adult education when he says it "has come to be perceived as a

¹ EDITOR'S NOTE: Mr. Kindelsperger did not see a copy of this paper until he arrived at the Conference sessions. It was then too late to write a systematic discussion. The Editorial Committee requested him to write up the notes used in his discussion and this is the source of the printed statement.

broad field encompassing practically all of adult life." Later he speaks of the growing adult education movement and an emerging adult education profession.

This inclusive definition which is to be implemented by a movement with a professional core of adult educators strikes me as being a rather formidable idea. Do we need and do we want to formalize adult growth processes? This large question breaks up into fragmentary queries: Will the further formalizing of the now modest adult education movement someday develop into still another rigid institution? Will an already well-institutionalized adult life be plagued with still more "demand" and "expectancy" roles? Will potential individuality be still further standardized?

My first reaction to this trend of ideas was to push it aside. I reflected that adult education had traveled a hard road; comparatively few adults demonstrated any very strong interest in it as a movement; financing has been difficult. Then, too, the current methods and philosophies set forth by Mr. Knowles suggest dynamic learning by doing, centered in community needs and community life. At first, this seemed a positive and reassuring doctrine. However, the past fifty years have been years of great progress for most individuals in the United States. Much that has been good is formalized in law. The formalization of additional "demand" and "expectancy" role content with reference to individuals, groups, corporations, and government has touched most aspects of living.

This growing formalization has probably thus far resulted in a net gain for potential individual development. Whether this trend toward increasing rigidity will continue to yield new gain for the individual is a moot question. Whether this revitalized adult education movement can become a major institution which could seriously standardize adult growth processes is also a moot question. Currently it would not seem so, but I feel the question should be raised. The formal aspects of a culture appear to contain the threat that they may cease to function as channels of individuality exclusively and become ends in themselves which determine the nature and limits of individuality.

Radical changes are taking place within the "new" adult education movement, according to Mr. Knowles. One such important

change is said to be taking place in the role of the leader. The older, inadequate concepts are said to have been imbedded in our culture. To an important extent this may have been true, but we must also be aware that the "newer," group-centered leadership concepts stem from our traditions of the town meeting, the elected representative, the jury of peers, etc.

In practice, also, we can easily trace the development of group-centered leadership. These ideas were expressed by Mary Follett; by Neva Boyd, Grace Coyle, and other pioneers in the field of social group work; and of course they were expressed by John Dewey. Group-centered adult education has long been a basic concept in the best adult work carried on by settlements, YMCA's, YWCA's, Jewish community centers, and other social group work agencies.

This "emerging revolution" in adult education would appear to be accompanied by a rather elaborate series of techniques which may well tend toward too much standardizing of group participation if the current emphasis on formal techniques persists. Some of these techniques have important new elements, but many others are modifications of well-tried devices. Any movement that comes rather rapidly to a stage of great self-consciousness always appears to face a problem in formulating the obvious and organizing the best of older practices. Sometimes in this early period of systematizing a method, procedures are considered new when as a matter of fact they are regularly used under slightly different forms. New movements related to group processes are always in danger of having some of their techniques emphasized to a point where they become tricks of the trade.

This tendency to standardize group participation with such devices as "listening roles," "feed-back," "buzz sessions," "role-playing," can, in the hands of poorly informed and inadequately motivated disciples, result in unhealthy rigidities. Such devices need to be viewed in the light of the plurality of group membership of most adults. Most of us belong to more groups than we can participate in intensively and most of us belong to groups where we have no desire to participate intensively. At the present time, therefore, it would seem that we must take into account the need for

differential group participation on the part of individuals, if the group is to serve the variety of needs presented by individuals.

A further comment is in order as to the function of established groups as they relate to institutional life. Some of the principles and techniques set forth by Mr. Knowles seem to relate to a few highly specialized group situations where members were relatively unacquainted and where the obligations of the group did not extend beyond the egocentric needs of the members.

Common observation indicates that a multitude of established groups are to some extent structured by goals and beliefs which are a part of a larger constellation of groups or of an institution. Thus, the flexibility of group activities, of making an agenda, and so forth, may be determined by many factors other than those of the expressed wishes of the group. Over the country, for example, thousands of social agency boards meet each month and carry out certain stated group responsibilities with reference to a larger membership or clientele. Individual members of such board groups have duties and responsibilities which limit their spontaneous behavior. Such responsibilities also limit the degree to which the agenda can be flexible and the extent to which the groups can determine their own group goals. In a different sense, the multitude of groups that meet as small units of religious institutions, of trade unions, and of industrial corporations, for instance, illustrate situations where the thinking and behavior of the members are already highly structured due to the affiliation of the individual member.

Mr. Knowles maintains that the newer methods in adult education will emphasize greater self-awareness of individual roles and of the use of techniques in achieving group goals. Constant conscious evaluation is emphasized as is the observation of individual participation. This raises a question as to the usefulness of a high degree of self-consciousness in group participation. A distinction needs to be made here between the usefulness of acute self-consciousness in groups for research purposes and the adoption of such a goal as a desirable situation in ongoing group processes.

It is easily apparent to anyone who has tried to learn a skill that acute self-consciousness may be a necessary stage in the learning process but that actually it makes productive work extremely

difficult if not impossible. It seems necessary to incorporate the new self-awareness at a level which is available to consciousness when needed. Acute self-consciousness actually appears to be accompanied universally by awkwardness and a lack of refined integration.

In adult education, if proper precautions are not maintained, the process which may be necessary for certain learning situations can become an end in itself and self-consciousness a neurotic ritual. The ritual may easily become the goal of group participation, and useful work may become all but impossible. Expert social group workers would, I suspect, be able to support this statement with many illustrations. These examples of institutionalized group processes would in most cases be drawn from situations that were administered under some of the older and more common doctrines of adult education. The new methods and the reformulated methods, some of which have been suggested by Mr. Knowles, lend themselves rather readily to such development. These formulations include activity and considerable verbalization on the part of individuals. Each person has considerable opportunity to gain the attention of other persons, all of which is highly satisfying to most people in our society today. Our culture is apparently so seriously deficient in satisfying interpersonal relationships on any very wide scale as to create a perpetual hunger for warm human relationships. Thus, in a deeper and even more tragic sense these devices, by superficially satisfying human needs, may become an end in themselves. We are in no position to judge or to say that people shall be denied moments of satisfying interpersonal relationships wherever they find them. It is clear, however, that the problems of human needs in this area can be approached in a way which gives momentary satisfactions but in the long run becomes a regressive pattern; or they can be approached in a more positive manner which may have less startling short-time gains but in the long run leads to greater personal effectiveness.

One of the major doctrines which supposedly supports this new approach to adult education is the rather well-worn idea of Mary Follett and others that the group is more than the sum of its parts. Mr. Knowles quotes Leland P. Bradford: "It is a dynamic whole which has properties different from the properties of its parts. . . .

It is, in a sense, a living organism with a growth cycle starting in infancy and moving through childhood, adolescence, maturity and senility." I have never been able to understand this idea in applying it to groups which I have observed or known about. I have never found it useful in explaining group processes, and the animistic flavor which pervades it tends to obscure some very important values. As a doctrine it lends itself to the institutionalization of groups at the expense of individual participation. If carried far enough and long enough the perpetuation of the group becomes an end in itself rather than an instrument to be used in furthering the degree of individuality among the members. This is a subject that should be explored much more thoroughly; but all the evidence that I have been able to collect suggests that individuals enter the group as separate and discrete personalities and leave the group as such. I find it more helpful to look upon the symptoms of group life which appear to give it a personality as a manifestation of the interacting of individuals which ebbs and flows according to the satisfactions individual members achieve at the moment.

Throughout Mr. Knowles's paper there is an emphasis, explicit or implicit, which places this new adult education in the stream of democratic aspirations. The case which is made for maturity through group-centered rather than leader-centered participation is one example of the specific formulation of this identification. I am impressed with the emphasis on training leaders for this new kind of leadership function and I am also impressed with the extent to which leadership seems to be crucial in controlling the various processes and techniques set forth as part of the new methods of adult education. The rather firm insistence on this new kind of leadership tends to raise the question as to whether or not the older forms of leadership have not, as a matter of fact, gone "underground." I sometimes suspect myself and other persons who are professionally concerned with group processes and leadership in that we may be subconsciously preoccupied in trying to find controlling positions from which we can work under democratic forms. We should suspect ourselves, for the moment at least, and inquire whether or not the old forms of leadership have gone or whether they now manifest themselves in a more subtle and sophisticated manner.

Social Group Work in Camping

By PAUL SIMON

THE ORGANIZED CAMPING MOVEMENT is so far-flung, so diversified, it takes place under so many different auspices in so many places, with so many differing philosophies, to serve so many purposes, that it is difficult to isolate those aspects of social group work practice having universal application.

If one were asked to define "camping" he might reply as Socrates did when asked to define "virtue." Far from being able to define it himself he knew of no one who could define it. Yet one thing we might agree upon is that organized camping takes place in groups, or, more accurately, uses the group as a form of organization and emphasizes group living skills.

How can camping best use the social group work method? We must remember that while group life is a phenomenon of social living, social group work and social group living are not the same. Social group workers have been engaged in the past several decades in defining a process that has some uniqueness. The uniqueness is dictated by the need to understand a certain type of endeavor and distinguish it from other kinds of endeavor. What makes social group work distinguishable from other ways of working with groups? It is not only the ingredients that distinguish the method but the choice of ingredients and the pattern of combination. These are the ingredients as I understand them:

1. Social group work is a way of working with people in groups. It is something that a worker does, not something that the group does; that is, it is the work of an individual in dealing with a group.
2. Social group work is a method devised to help both individual members and the group entity to grow and achieve in the realm of social relationship.
3. Social group work is an enabling process, a procedure whereby

a worker helps others to use their own capacities for helping themselves.

4. Social group work is a consciously controlled process; the worker knows what he is doing, and assumes responsibility for his own work.

5. Social group work demands a professional rather than a personal relationship between worker and group members. Although this relationship is characterized by warmth, acceptance, and understanding, its existence is based on the purposes it may serve for the individual and group; not the private satisfactions of the group worker, whose personal needs must be met elsewhere.

A full discussion of the basic considerations in the use of social group work method in the camp setting would require an analysis of the relationship of the five concepts to each other as applied to the various group structures and group functions to be found in most camp programs. Such an analysis is beyond the scope of this brief paper in which we shall pay particular attention to the second ingredient noted above with cursory discussion of the others. It should be pointed out that certain limitations in the objectives for which social group work may be used are inherent in the second statement; social group work is a method particularly used to enable groups and individuals to develop their social capacities.

Change in one's social capacity is a process which takes place all the time. Each social experience of an individual contributes in one way or another to his social development. At what time does he need help in social development? At what time does he need the help of the social group worker? Probably under selected conditions, where he has had difficulty in having a satisfactory group experience, where he wants to learn better to get along with others in groups, where he wants to be able to cooperate more effectively in carrying out joint activities—at best, the individual will need the help of the social group worker only at selected times.

Therefore, from the point of view of the individual, while much of his daily living is in contact with other persons, there are certain times when he will want to participate in a group under the guidance of a social group worker. Any group is in session at various intervals. While the feeling of belonging to a group and par-

ticipating in its activities may be with the group member a large part of the time, he is most acutely aware of his group membership at the time of group meeting. Usually, the social group worker is with the group during most of the time the group is actually meeting.

In some camp situations members of cabin groups or tent groups are together the entire time they are in camp. This produces a maximum opportunity for the development of group wholeness, and possibly group achievement. It must also be recognized as limiting the individual's social horizon to eight or ten other individuals for a fixed period. Many camps provide wider opportunities for social experience by developing program in part restricted to tent or cabin groups and in part unrestricted and undifferentiated. For the individual this represents a more nearly average social experience.

The daily group living needs of campers are not necessarily problems in social adjustment. Sometimes serious problems do arise; sometimes the acceptance of a friendly adult, social group worker or otherwise, is all the help a child needs at the moment. However, we do find the skill of the social group worker to be of considerable value and frequent use in the group living situation. The ability to limit wisely and well, to be impartial, to use authority without being authoritarian, to show interest in people, warmth, friendliness—these attributes are invaluable to the camp counselor. Because the social group worker is trained to have these skills he should be able to function well as a camp counselor.

The social group worker will bring to the camp situation a basic understanding of individual and group behavior, the ability to understand the meaning and use of program activities, and skill in the establishment and maintenance of working relationships. He should be prepared to add to his understanding of behavior the additional insights which come from living with his clientele. If he has occasionally expressed relief at the conclusion of a group meeting and closed the agency doors for a short time with a feeling of gratitude that these exuberant youngsters have to go home for dinner, let him now take pause. At camp he can look forward, not only to the pleasure of their company for dinner but also to spend-

ing the night with these active lads. If the social group worker has on occasion contemplated the value of a changed environment for his group members let him now rejoice. Not only is the environment changed but the worker himself is committed to being a part of it. While these experiences may require some readjustment on the part of the worker they will also serve to sharpen his skill in diagnosis and understanding. The camp setting also provides opportunity for the worker to extend his range and use of knowledge about group behavior because he lives with the group.

The camp group is usually a formed group. Although some camps use the same group organization to be found in the year-round work of the agency, many times the grouping requirements at camp mean that some new members may be added. In other camps the cabin or tent group may be newly formed. Usually this means that a group of strangers will be expected to live together, to accommodate themselves to each other, to learn to work and play together in a short period. Working with artificially formed groups calls for some particular care, especially in the beginning. The members will be more than usually dependent upon the worker who will, to the new campers, represent the camp. There will undoubtedly be some former campers in each group. Simply because they are familiar with this camp, old campers often constitute an in-group even though they may not have known each other well previously. The worker must be aware of the possibility of early subgroup formation around such bonds and see what effect they may have on the group as a whole. Usually the worker will capitalize on this type of subgroup to lead an exploration trip or to answer questions about the countryside, but the worker will recognize that too strong a subgroup may develop. Early subgroup formation may become quite powerful in its divisive effect on the group.

The worker, in dealing with the artificially formed group will usually not want to emphasize group cohesiveness at the start. The camp group will be helped most readily if beginning activities are planned which require a minimum rather than a maximum of cooperation. The artificially formed group usually starts on activities which can be carried on by individuals or pairs or in which all members can participate equally. This allows for the oppor-

tunity for members to try out each other, get acquainted, find out whom they like and whom they dislike. Because the camp group is together so much, certain group processes will be accelerated, and in a day or two the artificially formed group may have developed into a fairly cohesive unit. However, individual differences will be apparent here, and again the worker will not move faster than the group members are able to go. In some instances the development of too much group cohesiveness may place undue limitations on the individual who may need a wider range of social experience.

The camp group is a transitory group. It will be in existence for a short period in the life experience of an individual. The transitory group should be expected to achieve only that amount of group spirit required for the particular setting within which it is found. Therefore its values need to be examined in the light of their meaning for the individual rather than their effect upon group wholeness. Usually the social group worker will encourage group organization to a point of stability. Continuity of group life often depends on such stability. In the camp group, continuity of group life is first of all assured by the group living situation. Maintaining the physical compresence of the members does not constitute a problem. However, the wish to be with the group and the psychological participation in the group are factors for the worker to consider. In the camp group it may often be important to subordinate the group to the individual. The friendship ties will be broken in spite of the vows to continue, unless there is some likelihood that the campers can see each other frequently on return to the city. If the individual becomes too dependent on this sort of friendship tie the camp experience may have been of doubtful value.

Selection and grouping factors affect the structure of camp groups and their subsequent activities. The most commonly used grouping factors are age and sex. However, with increased attention being given to the intake processes there is much more information available to the camp. This information may be used for giving the camp staff a head start in understanding its campers and may be likewise useful in grouping procedures. If accurate information

is available beforehand we may apply what is known today in regard to grouping. In the average camp the individual should be able to make social contacts without too much help from the worker. Individuals known to be near either extreme of withdrawn or aggressive behavior will experience more than usual difficulty in adjusting to the camp group. The average camp may find it difficult to give individual attention to the disturbed individual. He would therefore be excluded from the camp. While an agency may be criticized for not accepting the disturbed individual, it is usually in this individual's interest not to be sent to a camp where he may have further damaging experiences if the camp is unprepared to deal with him.

Various reactions to socializing pressures constitute another factor to be taken into account in understanding the camp group. As mentioned earlier, the tempo of interaction is accelerated in the group living situation calling for acceleration in the adjustment processes. Occasionally, individuals may retreat to conformity by entering into group activities to avoid becoming the focus of group or worker attention. The camp situation gives less opportunity for privacy and for escape from the group. Growth in social capacity continues during periods of isolation from group activities. The duration of this isolation need naturally varies among people.

Voluntary membership in a group has long been an important factor in the application of social group work method. It should be remembered that while attendance at camp is usually voluntary, assignment to a particular unit or group is usually made by the staff. Thus the individual may find himself in enforced association with others. His friend or relative may have been assigned elsewhere, and the camper may be expected to have some resistance to the group with which he is placed. This situation often obtains with the rest of the group members and constitutes more or less of a problem. Meeting this situation calls first for discrimination in grouping itself, although the fact remains that even the most careful intake process seldom gives a complete picture of the individual. Even if it were complete, the administrative process does not always permit full flexibility in grouping. Consequently, the

social group worker must expect some problems in helping the group achieve well-balanced interaction.

The camp group has been described as an artificially created group, transitory in the life experience of the member, involuntary to some degree, and usually demanding a fair amount of individual adequacy in establishing social relationships. These factors affect the social process, which, as noted, is accelerated beyond that to be found in the usual community group by virtue of more demanding as well as more frequent interpersonal relationships. In the very beginning of the individual's attempt to establish group relationships he will look to the worker for some guidance. Among a group of comparative strangers the worker is the person to whom the members will immediately assign some authority and with whom communication is natural. At first this series of parallel worker-member relationships carries little rivalry for the worker's attention, although such may develop later. The individual is shortly engaged in exploring mutual interests with others and attempts first to relate to only one other person. This results in a number of pair formations with occasional isolates and triads. The subgroup formations existing at the beginning are naturally tenuous and serve only as stepping-stones in social experience to new subgroup formations and identification with the group entity. Occasionally this makes for difficulty when one member of the pair group may find deeper satisfaction than the other and may not be willing to give up his new friend to another. The worker-member relationship may be supportive at such times.

As subgroup reorganization occurs, the transitory pairs may disappear and a more definite structure may emerge, which often continues for the life of the camp group. If the individual does not find satisfactory relationships within his own cabin group he may seek friendships elsewhere in camp. The socially inadequate person often is drawn to adult staff in camp, partially for direct satisfaction and partially in quest of help in finding other peer relationships.

As the camp group is confronted constantly with keeping its own household in order, much program content develops around "survival" necessities. Decisions must be made by the group on

many daily living problems. This brings forth considerably more conflict as differing background, family, and culture group experiences, as well as emotional adjustment, contribute to the individual's problem in participating in the decision-making process. The division of labor possible among a homogeneous group is different from that to be found in the average family group. To this situation the individual brings his earlier perceptions of who does what about making beds, sweeping the floor, cleaning the toilets. A somewhat unnatural sibling rivalry may emerge in the homogeneous group. Attitudes toward, and perception of, the role of the worker also affect this decision-making process. Camp norms with reference to housekeeping and property use must be taken into account. The worker thus must naturally expect to be considered authoritarian as a parent, authoritarian as a representative of camp norms, permissive and understanding as a parent, friendly and sociable as a pal, skillful and knowing as a teacher, impartial and wise as a judge—to list only a few of the demands made upon him. If the worker is a professional social group worker he will want to see himself as an enabler in the realm of social adjustment, a role which probably none of the group members will ascribe to him. On top of this he will likely be criticized by the old camper who tells him camp is different this year and not nearly so much fun, along with the crowning accolade that the leader last year was much better.

Interestingly enough, the strengthening of bond among the campers with accompanying good feelings about being in camp becomes evident almost from the first day. While few radical adjustment changes can be expected in the short-term experience at camp, particularly if the person is faced with serious problems of social relationships, the impact of the intensive group living experience on the individual should not be underestimated. Intense loyalties between campers often develop, and acceptance of camp traditions becomes a part of the individual as approved ways of doing things are further enhanced by group pressures. The group member reconciles some of his own differences with those of the group. He accepts some, adapting himself to them, and contributes to the modification of others.

The worker's need to understand the ways by which group formation affects the group process has been noted. Equally important to note is that after a relatively short time the camp term is over and the group disbands. The ending can be meaningful, which is not to say it should be tearful. Considerable sensitivity and skill will be required to understand how high the group morale should go, how to maintain the dignity of camp traditions without unduly sentimental rituals and ceremonials.

Consciously planned use of relationship is important not only in the setting of the group itself but in the numerous opportunities for individual work found in most camp life. Sometimes such contacts will be casual, yet they often have great meaning to the individual. Specific help, especially to the troubled person, often arises from the fact that he has lived with his difficulties for another ten days or two weeks without making them worse. Even where problems are recognized but contained, the short-term camping experience can be very meaningful.

Discretion in enabling group decisions is called for by virtue of the casualness of group association. "Parliament" may not be in session very regularly, and interim decisions by worker or minority subgroup may frequently affect the spirit or well-being of others in the group.

In considering the use of social group work in camp it is important to distinguish between using people with social group work training in the counselor role and conscious planning for the use of social group work method to help carry out the camp purpose. We have said earlier that the warmth and friendliness of the social group worker are invaluable in the camp counseling job. Interest in, and understanding of, people likewise is desirable. Skill in using program activities and using democratic decision-making are needed abilities. While such capacities are part of social group work training they are not exclusive properties of social group workers. Almost any camp counselor can profitably use such skills, and most counselor-training courses place much emphasis on such material.

Using supervisors or unit heads with social group work training is similarly a situation of only partially using social group work in

the camp setting. It would be stopping short of the question at hand to discuss ways in which social group work skill is modified to make possible its application to the camp staff role. The use of social group work method in camping is more basically a question of camp purpose and objective. In short, the aims must be such that social group work is one of the required methods for achieving these goals. This means that the social group worker must be used in the direct relationship with campers as well as at the supervisory level.

The purpose, policies, and procedures in the camp naturally determine the type of staff and affect the methodology usable. Some camps may operate purely to offer recreational activity, providing a vacation for the campers, giving them an opportunity to learn campcraft skills but emphasizing fun for the camper. Some camps aim to extend the year-round work of the operating agency. Some camps emphasize the development of social skills, the strengthening of family life, or the enhancement of cultural relationships. Many camps combine a variety of purposes but in each case make use of appropriately trained staff. Usually this calls for a staff with varied backgrounds. However, all are expected to demonstrate skill in working with the camper rather than only knowledge of subject matter. The day has passed for most camps when emphasis on learned activities constituted the only evaluation scale. Now many camps are placing increasing emphasis on the social growth and development of individuals and understanding between people of varied backgrounds.

When group association is the organizational medium through which such objectives are to be sought the social group work method may be used. Accomplishment of this aim naturally calls for planning at the policy-determination level. Board involvement must go beyond the simple statement of objectives to a spelling out of practical considerations applying to the program philosophy of the camp. Such discussions require less preoccupation with the physical environment at the camp, important as that is, and greater attention to staff structure, staff standards, recording and reporting systems. Boards can be told that social group work is a discipline which concentrates on helping groups and individuals to develop

constructive and creative social relationships and that people trained in this discipline can help the camp achieve its goals.

The use of social group work method as such must be distinguished from understanding human behavior alone or even applying some information about group leadership. Not all work with groups is social group work. In fact, we should not be shocked to hear that social group work is not always the best method to use in working with a group. However, training camp counselors to use some greater understanding and skill in their jobs (a very laudable plan, of course) does not mean they have thereby learned to use social group work. We must distinguish between using the method as a whole and using some of the techniques in the method. Moreover, if the social group work method is to be used in the camp setting the social group worker must be prepared to make those modifications occasioned by the nature of the group and the nature of the group process. And finally, the deliberate use of social group work method in the camp setting reaches maximum value if the method is required to help carry out the camp objectives.

Measurement and Evaluation of Social Group Work Practice

By GERTRUDE WILSON

A PIONEER STUDY of the practice of social group work is in process at the Educational Alliance¹ in New York City. The areas studied are trouble spots within many agencies. The process of study and the preliminary findings have effected many changes within this agency, and it is hoped that its experience not only has significance to other agencies, but will stimulate them to test some of the hypotheses which are being developed and thus enlarge the scope of this research.

The field for study is that of the practice of all staff members in a recreational and informal educational agency which regards the group as the basic unit of service and the social group work method as the means of providing that service. The studies in process deal with the administrative, clerical, and maintenance staff only to the extent that they provide supportive services to the program staff. They do include all the functions which a social group worker performs daily. Our point of view is that the assumptions of social group work apply to all of practice, and therefore every function is subject to evaluation against the criteria inherent in the assumptions.

The general problem may be stated thus: Are the assumptions of the social group work method characteristic of the practice of social group work in agencies in the recreational and informal educational field?

¹ The field of social group work owes a debt of gratitude to the staff of the Alliance for their intelligent contribution to the formulation of study questions, their help in securing data, their conscientious work, and their willingness and ability to participate in a process in which their own practice is under continuous analysis. The Research Department consists of Dr. Ruth Perl, statistical research, Dr. Manuel Cynamon, evaluative research, Lucile Stewart, research assistant, and the writer as director.

These are the assumptions to be tested:

1. That the social group work method is a process through which group life is affected by workers who consciously affect the interpersonal relations between members toward the accomplishment of goals which are conceived in a democratic frame of reference
2. That the goals are both individual and social; individuals are helped to participate in group experiences through which they become more effective social beings, and groups are helped to achieve ends significant to the growth and development of a more democratic society
3. That all agencies using the social group work method subscribe to these goals and have developed specific objectives which are rooted in varying religious and cultural ways of life
4. That the over-all organizational structure, policies, procedures, and social climate of agencies using the social group work method are consistent with the goals for which the method is used and provide support for its practice through:
 - a) The formulation of the immediate objectives of the agency
 - b) The achievement of a quality of group life by the agency as a whole which creates a social situation in which individuals and groups are helped to grow and develop
 - c) The formulation of specific policies and procedures relative to the practice of social group work to include:
 - 1) Recognition that the group is the basic unit of service
 - 2) Recognition that program content is not an end, but the medium through which the objectives are achieved
 - 3) Policies and procedures relative to the intake of members and the formation of groups
 - 4) Policies and procedures through which differential service is given to individuals and groups in accordance with their group-related needs
 - 5) Provision for departmental framework which encourages groups to develop organizational structure indigenous to their needs and helps them to participate in agency-wide program planning and administration, and in projects of community-wide significance

- 6) Administration which makes facilities, supplies, and equipment easily available
- 7) Administration which provides adequate clerical and maintenance service
- 8) Administration which has developed, in cooperation with the staff, realistic and effective personnel practices
- 9) Criteria and tools for quantitative and qualitative evaluation of the agency's service
- 10) A statement of required qualifications for workers to include: (a) conviction about the goals for which the social group work method is used and about the specific objectives of the agency; (b) ability to use the skills of recreational and informal educational activities for helping groups and their members to achieve socially desirable goals; (c) ability to fulfill helpful roles in working with groups and individuals based on understanding the meaning of the responses of members to each other, to the worker, and to the agency as a whole; (d) ability to organize and accomplish the assignment within the given time and to work with others in joint assignments; (e) sufficient knowledge and skill in research methods to handle quantitative and qualitative data essential for the evaluation of the work of the agency

5. That the role of social group workers is to plan, administer, supervise, and advise, in cooperation with the board, committees, and groups of the membership, a program which provides creative group experiences

6. That, in the last analysis, the work of an agency is evaluated by the quality of the group life of each of its constituent groups.

In approaching the general problem our hypothesis has been that a study of the practice of social group work agency will: (1) provide some evidence of the extent to which social group work assumptions characterize our practice; (2) contribute new methods of evaluation and measurement; (3) develop more specific knowledge of how to use the social group work method; (4) contribute to clarification of the nature of organizational structure indigenous to the practice of social group work; and (5) identify problems for further study.

The Educational Alliance is a community center located in the

Lower East Side of New York City, serving 5,000 members of all ages. The adoption of the social group work method followed a survey of the agency made by Dr. Nathan E. Cohen for the purpose of helping the board and staff to enter into "rethinking the function, policies, and structure of the agency." The study now in process was begun a year later.

Over the twenty-one months of this study, the staff has consisted of sixty full-time workers, ten social work students, and around a hundred part-time paid or volunteer workers. Twenty-eight workers carry administrative and program responsibilities, fourteen perform secretarial and clerical work, fourteen are maintenance workers, and four staff members provide accounting and financial services.

There were eight replacements on the program staff at the beginning of the second year, making a total of thirty-six different workers who contributed data to this study. Twenty-four, including the executive director, are graduates of schools of social work with a specialization in social group work. Eighty-six percent of the program staff of the second year are professionally educated social group workers.

The range of practical experience is from one to fifteen years. Six have had ten or more years of experience; fifteen have worked in other agencies; five have had two years of experience, at the Educational Alliance; and three are in their first year of professional work. Some of the staff have worked at the Alliance for many years.

There are forty members of the board of trustees, organized into seventeen committees on which many nonboard members also serve. The agency is organized on the basis of age divisions with supporting services from a program resources department from which specialists are available for a wide range of activities. The research department provides services and is consultant to all departments and divisions. An extension program was organized this year in the Stuyvesant Town area. There are two camps which provide vacations and week-end outings.

The basic problem under study is the measurement of the extent to which the Educational Alliance has achieved the goals for

which it uses the social group work method. The studies grew and developed within the momentum created by the needs and interests of a board and staff faced with the responsibility of giving social group work service to 5,000 members. Problems emerged from staff, board, and committee meetings and from membership groups. Six questions were formulated, and it was the responsibility of the research department to find appropriate methods of study and to direct the research:

1. How can intake service be organized to provide meaningful personal interviews with a large membership and a comparatively small staff who must concurrently administer the program?
2. What criteria can be developed for identification of degree of group-related needs of individuals and groups, and how can the agency use it to develop differential service to its membership?
3. What information should be included in a statistical reporting system in a social group work agency?
4. What is the relationship between the social climate of an agency and the quality of its practice?
5. What are the content and size of the load which a social group worker can carry in a forty-hour week?
6. How can the effectiveness of the social group work method be evaluated?

At this time it is possible only to present the approach made to these problems and describe our methods of studying them. Since this is a progress report, only occasionally will results be described.

1. *Membership intake.*—We assume:
 - a) That the purposes of intake interviews are: (1) to identify the group-related needs of persons wishing to join the agency; (2) to help members participate in appropriate activities; (3) to help them identify with the agency; (4) to help the staff to work with the members in planning and administering the program
 - b) That the agency has a responsibility to serve all its members in relation to their group-related needs and that therefore it is necessary to have personal interviews with each one
 - c) That each person should be interviewed by a member of the age division which he is seeking to join
 - d) That with the present size of the staff, no more than twenty

minutes can be allocated for an interview and the recording of it.

The problem is to develop procedures and to identify content for intake interviews which will fulfill the purposes for which they are used.

The study for the first year is based on the records of 3,652 interviews held between October 5, 1950, and May 1, 1951, in which fourteen workers participated. The study of the second year has approximately the same coverage.

The first step was to study the form currently in use by the agency. This form called for personal information only. Forms from seventy-five agencies were studied for suggestions.

An advisory committee from the staff discussed "What we need to know about our members in order to help them to participate in the agency." On the basis of this exploration an experimental form was developed to fulfill a twofold purpose—to guide the interviewer and to report the interview.

After six weeks the interviews were analyzed by the research director, and this material was studied by the advisory committee in light of the use which the staff was making of the intake records. The form as then revised contains: (1) personal information; (2) member's evaluation of his experience in the agency; (3) member's evaluation of his experience in other agencies; (4) evidence as to whether he belongs to a close intimate group or not; (5) evidence of his degree of readiness to carry responsibilities of membership; and (6) observations of the member's behavior during the interview.

Problems of the procedures and the administration of the intake service were studied through observation and discussion in staff and committee meetings. Problems of central intake were thus identified. The question as to whether the intake interview fulfills its purpose is being approached by finding out through committee and staff meetings and a questionnaire to each member of the program staff, how the records are being used.

At the end of the first year of this program the intake interview service was changed from a central to a divisional organization. The advantages and disadvantages of these two systems is a moot question which will be analyzed in the final report of this study. For this agency, the decentralized system has many advantages be-

cause of the dual responsibility of the staff for intake service and for administration of the program. While it was found that the average intake interview during 1950-51 was twenty-four and one-half minutes, it was thought that under the new organization the interviews could be held to the allotted twenty minutes. Further comment awaits analysis of this year's experience.

2. *Differential service to groups and individuals.*—The problem was to develop criteria and procedures for the organization of service to groups on the basis of identified group-related needs of their members.

A study was made of the records of intake interviews from October 5, 1950, to February 15, 1951, with members up to thirty-five years of age (1,067 records). These records were read independently by a psychiatric social worker and by the director of this study. Both readers focused their attention upon recognition of varying degrees of social adjustment indicated in the records. There were few differences of opinion on only six records, and on the basis of all findings tentative criteria were developed to describe four degrees of need: (1) common growing-up problems; (2) difficult growing-up problems; (3) very difficult problems; and (4) problems too difficult to be helped in a group. On the basis of these criteria the interview records were coded.

From the roster sheets of the groups within the agency the group identification of each member was identified. The records of the members whose interviews had disclosed evidence of more than ordinary growing-up problems were read to secure further understanding of their behavior in order to check the judgment made on the basis of the interview alone. This judgment was further checked against the results of an experimental test to evaluate the social adjustment of members which the adviser of each group had given in connection with a concurrent study.

Since there was no attempt to handle any aspect of this study statistically, it is impossible to quote a rate of agreement. It was the judgment of those who made the study and the supervisors of the groups involved that the criteria should be regarded as tentative and that they gave sufficient direction to the identification of degree of need to use experimentally during the ensuing year.

Groups were then classified according to the degree of difficulty the individual members seemed to face in meeting their growing-up problems. Determination of the degree of service which could be given to each group was handled by making a judgment of the knowledge and skill required by the group adviser. A differential in the time allocated for serving each group was made to include appropriate time for recording, individual conferences, consultation with supervisors, and work with other agencies.

A very experienced social group worker with consultative service by a psychiatrist was recommended for groups whose members seem to be having very difficult problems in growing up.

A professionally educated social group worker was recommended, with psychiatric consultation available, for groups whose members seem to be having difficult problems.

For groups whose members seem to be having just the ordinary problems of growing up, paid or supervised volunteer, part-time workers were recommended.

These procedures were initiated in the beginning of this program year. Evaluation procedures have consisted of analysis of recording and conferences in which the executive and the program director, the consulting psychiatrist, advisory members of the staff, and the director of research have participated.

3. *A statistical reporting system.*—We assumed that there is a significant relationship between the rate of participation of the number of people served and the quality of service they receive.

The individual rate of participation indicates one aspect of the use of services which each member has made by month and to date (from the date when he joined or renewed his membership). This is found by dividing the member's attendance to date by the attendance he would have accumulated had he missed no meetings or appointments since he joined the agency.

The agency participation rate, which is the aggregate use of the agency's services by its total membership, is found by dividing the total attendance of organized groups and defined services by the actual number of scheduled meetings.

Report forms used by several national agencies, councils, and a large number of local recreational and informal educational agen-

cies were studied. These forms revealed many ways of asking the same questions, but they provided little help in the integration of enrollment and attendance figures to disclose the quantity of service given to each individual. In order to evaluate all the aspects of the quality of group life of the constituent parts of the agency as a whole, it is necessary to know the rate of participation of each individual and of each group. Therefore the research department devised forms, with specific instructions for their use, which produce monthly and cumulative participation rates for individuals and for the agency as a whole.

4. *The social climate of the agency.*—Here the problem was whether or not the social climate of the agency is consistent with the goals for which the social group work method is used. "Social climate" represents the nature of the interpersonal relations resulting from the organizational structure, policies, and procedures of the agency.

The purpose of the study was to identify some of the factors which produce tension in the social processes among the leadership of the agency.

Our hypothesis was that tensions are reduced through frank and open discussion of problems in small groups, which are representative of people fulfilling different roles established by the structure, when the purpose of the discussion is to prepare to change the aspects of the social situation which interfere with creative relationships. Such a study is possible where the executive, the "hub" of the social processes in any agency, is eager and willing to participate in a process focused on change, if the need for change becomes apparent.

The method used was primarily that of action-research with existing staff groups for the purpose of identifying problems. The director of research carried the over-all enabling role; the executive of the agency, major responsibility for working with board and committees; and a committee of the staff, selected by a sociometric test, responsibility for working with the staff project. The staff requested that a study of the social climate of the agency be organized, and the executive appointed a committee to organize such a study with the help of the director of research. Discussion groups were

formed on the basis of a sociometric test, and the four "most chosen" staff members became discussion leaders and acted as the executive committee of the project.

Problems identified by the staff were discussed in regular committee meetings. Individual conferences were held with board and committee members relative to their role in some of the problems emerging in the staff discussions. The reactions and suggestions of board and committee members were discussed within the staff project.

All the specific problems identified were attitudes and feelings related to organizational structure, policies and procedures, and professional practices.

Staff committees prepared recommendations for desired changes to submit to the staff and, with its approval, to the appropriate committees of the board. The Program Committee of the board reorganized its structure to provide for subcommittees corresponding with each of the divisions of the agency and for representatives from the staff of each division and from groups of the membership.

All the committees of the board except the Legal Committee became involved in consideration of one or more of the staff recommendations: slight changes were made in the organizational structure; the delegation of authority was clarified; specific policies and procedures were formulated relative to the practice of social group work, including the use of psychiatric consultation for work with difficult groups; and private offices were provided for each member of the program staff. The only recommendation which failed to receive adequate action was the request for an expansion of the clerical staff. It is recommended that a similar study be undertaken in the near future to determine the clerical needs of the agency.

5. *The job load of a social group worker.*—The problem was how to determine a job load for a social group worker within the limits of time and the functions for which he is trained.

The hypotheses were that given a competent social group worker, it is possible to determine the time necessary to perform the operations inherent in each function of a social group worker; and that the time equivalent of each operation is the basic unit in the establishment of a load.

A time study was made on the basis of five-minute intervals during the fourth week of November, the third week of January, the second week of March, and the first week of May. Sixty-four operations were classified into ten units of work, here referred to as "functions." The distribution of time showed that 36.6 percent of all workers' time was directly concerned with work with groups. Administrative responsibilities took 18.6 percent of the workers' time; staff meetings, including inservice training, 17.4 percent; supervision, 7.1 percent; being supervised, 3.2 percent; working with individuals outside the group, 5 percent; intake interviews, 4.1 percent; work with board committees, 1.4 percent; work with the community, 1.4 percent; and transition time, 5.1 percent.

Workers were classified into types of job assignments according to the proportion between work carried with groups and supervisory-administrative responsibilities. Operations of Group Workers I, II, and III were studied in relation to the following questions:

- a) Are the operations performed appropriate to the function of a social group worker?
- b) Which operation, if any, could be performed by a group work technician? By a clerical worker? By a maintenance worker?
- c) What is the relationship between the degree of service needed by individuals and groups and the time required to perform each operation? If there is a differential, does it apply to all operations? If not, to which operations?
- d) How much time did it take the workers in each classification to perform each operation?
- e) What factors in the social climate of the agency influenced the length of time reported for each operation?
- f) What length of time, under more favorable conditions, should be required to perform each operation?
- g) What percentage of the average work week should be spent on each of the ten functions?

On the basis of the answers found to the first five questions a hypothetical answer to the last five questions was made.

A "Guide for Work Assignments" was then developed, and assignments for 1951-52 were made as nearly as possible according to the recommendations. Analysis reveals that Group Workers I

were assigned 6 percent less time to "work with groups" than recommended. This 6 percent was distributed among the other functions fairly evenly. Two and six-tenths percent was assigned to "supervising others," which was not a recommended function for workers in this classification. Group Workers II were assigned 20 percent more time to "work with groups," 9.5 percent less time to "intake interviews," and 9 percent less to "supervising others." Group Workers III were assigned 4 percent more time to "work with groups," 6 percent more for "supervising others," 3 percent more for "interviews with members," 8 percent less to "intake," and 2 percent less for "administration."

The deviation in the assignments of Group Workers I and II is accounted for by the fact that two workers in the Group Worker II classification do not meet the qualifications for this position and consequently were not assigned supervisory responsibilities. To fill this gap Group Workers I were given some part-time workers to supervise.

Another time study was made in January, 1952, to find out to what extent the recommendations were carried out. Revisions will be made in light of the second study, and a "Guide for Work Assignments in Social Group Work Practice" will be available for any agency willing to test the allocations—providing the current study provides an adequate basis for a reasonable hypothesis for the time required to carry the functions inherent in the practice of social group work.

6. *Measurement of the effectiveness of the social group work method.*—The problem was to create a test to measure the extent to which groups receiving social group work service achieve goals significant to a democratic society and members of such groups become effective social beings.

The hypothesis is that a test which is a valid measure of the quality of experience in organized groups administered periodically over a given time will reveal the rate of growth or regression of groups and their members.

We assume:

- a) That the concepts developed in the social and biological sci-

ences descriptive of the nature of groups and of individuals provide a frame of reference for a study of the quality of group life

b) That items rooted in concepts which portray various aspects of group life will reveal the quality of life of a group under study

c) That items rooted in concepts which describe the behavior of individuals in groups will reveal the social adjustment of each member to the group under study.

A multiple-choice test form was developed containing 366 items rooted in sociological-psychological concepts inherent in eight categories for study: (1) the group as an entity; (2) nature of interpersonal relations; (3) sources of conflict; (4) resolving conflict; (5) intrinsic values of program content; (6) role of indigenous leaders; (7) role of group advisers; (8) social adjustment of members.

Point values were assigned to express the contribution of each item to each category through which the quality of experience of the group is examined. Some social group work teachers, consultants, and practitioners were asked to assign point values in line with their conception of the contribution each item makes to the total experience of a group. Nine ratings were received; the agreement with the original rating is .625. These point values will be further tested by examination of the distribution of the raw scores, on the assumption that this quality like so many others truly has a normal distribution. The raw scores distribution of the several subscores will be converted into a single scale, based on the standard deviation, so that the relative rank of a single group in the different categories can be compared with another on any single aspect.

The standard scores of the second and following tests will be compared with the standard score of the first test. The amount of growth or regression will be observed from this comparison.

The test is now in its trial run. It is planned to improve its reliability through the statistical method of criterion of internal consistency and through intercorrelations of the categories and items of the test. Through this process the test will be shortened considerably. When the test is revised, validation will be sought through competent judgment of the suitability of the test by expert social group workers in widely distributed geographic areas.

The significance of this program lies less in the findings and conclusions than in its process. The experience of working daily with a group of practitioners, of identifying some of the questions we need to answer in order better to serve our members, of struggling to develop methods of studying them, and at the same time serving our members to the best of our ability, was invigorating and inspiring.

A research project conducted in an agency has the advantage of continuous contact with those to whom is directed the service we seek to improve. The problems for study of social group work practice really can only come from the settings in which it is practiced. It is there that they should be studied, in the midst of all the problems that beset agency practice and with the support of the agency. Studies ripped out of the agency setting provide little guarantee of their practicality or their usefulness. Whether the study is sponsored by an agency, a school, or a professional organization is primarily a matter of financial convenience. It is logical that the chief researcher be a social group worker, for only he can keep the focus of the studies on practice, which means concentrated study on five basic questions: What does the social group worker do? Is what he does appropriate to his professional function? How does he do it? How can we evaluate how he does it? How can he do it better? These questions applied to each of his appropriate functions provide an outline for a large and important study to which many agencies, schools, and professional organizations can contribute. In conducting this program research specialists from other fields will make valuable contributions in methodology. It is important, however, that we recognize that the responsibility for the development of "deeper insights in the laws which govern social life" is, as Kurt Lewin said, the responsibility of the basic social sciences. Let us not dissipate our energies by taking on this responsibility when we are already retarded in our use of existing basic research in the social and biological sciences.

We will have no final answers to the problems we are studying. We have evidence of practice where the assumptions of social group work seem valid. We have evidence of practice where either the assumptions are impractical or the social situation prohibits their

fulfillment or the worker is incompetent. We have tried to demonstrate what we conceive to be a favorable situation for the practice of social group work. This was essential before we could evaluate the relationship between the assumptions and actual practice. Development of patterns of organization for the practice of social group work is work which any agency wishing to study practice must undertake as the preliminary stage for research projects.

We have found groups and individuals needing the professional services of social group workers and those workers performing operations which a technician could probably do better. Is there a place in the practice of social group work for a technician? Have we, social group workers, sufficient professional security to move into our true professional role? Are we willing to give only administrative supervision to a technician who could manage our offices, make and keep the schedule, purchase the supplies, do the publicity, contact the specialists and program resources, act as receptionist, and perform the manifold other operations which take training but not the diagnostic and enabling skills of a professional social group worker?

If the field is ready to differentiate between the technician's jobs and the functions of a professional social group worker, then we are ready to move into study projects from which we will deepen our skills and improve the accuracy of our practice. It is our hope that the research program of the Educational Alliance has not only contributed to an understanding of what social group work practice is but has been a pathfinder in the direction of what it may become.

Community Planning for Health and Welfare

By LEONARD W. MAYO

No thoughtful inquiry can be made as to where we are and where we are going in health and welfare planning in the United States without some consideration of our total situation at home and our present place in the world scene. Like Rome, France, and the British Empire in different periods in their history the United States has had the responsibility of world leadership thrust upon it before it has acquired the maturity, the breadth of view, and the international community organization skills such an obligation demands. The relation is close between our responsibilities abroad and our health and welfare obligations at home. Both are fundamentally humanitarian in nature; both are aimed at long-range benefits for many rather than at immediate returns for a few; and the philosophy and techniques required for the successful discharge of each obligation, furthermore, are not unlike.

As a people we have the intelligence, the native ability, and potentially the character to do what is required of us both at home and abroad. The question is whether time and events will wait until we have developed the full maturity and the will to perform in the national and international arenas as befit the citizens of a democracy. It is well, therefore, that we examine carefully and objectively where we now stand in the fundamental community planning process and inquire first of all into its content and nature.

The French, who have long been masters of exposition, suggest that in defining an activity or an object one should first state what it is not. It might be pointed out, therefore, that community planning, as this observer understands it, is not manipulation by health and welfare groups to achieve what appears to them alone to be desirable; it is not focused exclusively on the future of health and

welfare agencies as such; it is not domination of the health and welfare programs of a community by any one individual or group; and, finally, it is not merely the collection and classification of social data, nor the promotion of one idea or a single program.

Community planning for health and welfare is the process by which individuals and groups in a community consciously seek to determine, establish, and sustain those conditions, programs, and facilities which in their judgment will help to prevent the breakdown of individual and communal life, and make possible a high level of well-being for all people. Underlying this concept are the philosophy and the methods which guide the wisest leaders in obtaining full expression from the community as to its needs and their priorities, and in organizing a plan of action in relation thereto. An example would be a study of the nature and incidence of chronic illness, full discussion and interpretation of the resulting data, and a decision as to the best program suggested by the entire procedure.

Also included in any broad definition of community planning are the mobilization of public support, the dissemination of pertinent information, the appointment of appropriate committeees, the hearing and weighing of arguments presented by the opposition, and the development of a plan of action designed to reconcile differences. The basic methods used in community planning for health and welfare should be essentially those of community organization as public health and social work understand and employ them.

Sound planning for health and welfare involves the recognition and use of basic community facts and forces, both positive and negative, and the full use of all appropriate community facilities. The facts include basic population data and indices of human need, some of which can be determined and measured by tested methods. The positive forces include the health and welfare services which may be mobilized to meet current or anticipated needs, the agencies which conduct such services, and the boards of directors, civic groups, and individuals who may be counted upon to aid in the planning process. Those individuals and groups tempermentally or otherwise opposed to planning and to the adequate support of present programs, reactionary city and county governments, and the cultural lag and lethargy to be found to some degree in every

community are among the negative forces which confront even the most skillful planning efforts.

Community planning as here defined takes place in small local areas, on a city, county, and regional basis, and on a national scale. The examples of national planning that come to mind most readily are segmental in character, involving a single program or objective, such as food conservation, cancer control, and the like. An example of more inclusive planning in the health and welfare fields are, respectively, the President's appointed committee on the nation's health, the National Health Council, and the National Social Welfare Assembly.

There are important differences in the three designations: "community planning"; "community planning for health and welfare"; and "community planning for health and welfare services." The concept in the first is that of broad planning for the whole community, including its physical aspects and its business, industrial, and political life as well as its social and health problems. The second denotes a concentration on the specific health and welfare needs of a given population unit, to whatever extent they can and should be isolated from other factors. The third designation, "community planning for health and welfare services," is more specific and more limited in scope than the others. When a community is dealing with health and welfare services as such, it is concerned primarily if not excessively with planning facilities and programs to meet the usual health and welfare needs.

Organized health and welfare services are comparatively young. It is understandable, therefore, that extensive and broad-gauge planning for their development, and for the prevention of the problems they attempt to solve, should still be in swaddling clothes. On the other hand, business and industry are old hands at planning. Labor is becoming adept at it, and many of the professions are becoming increasingly active. The available facts seem to indicate, however, that most planning in professional as well as in other fields is limited, if not controlled, by the comparatively narrow interests of the group immediately involved. A considerable portion of what passes for planning is not based on, or guided by, any democratically arrived at concept of what is best for the total

community. At times this is probably as true of health and welfare planning as it is of other types, though perhaps for somewhat different reasons.

Industry and labor and notably government have a considerably greater control of the factors and forces that aid or block the planning process than is true of health and welfare groups. The court of public opinion ultimately decrees, at least after the fact, whether it will sustain industry, labor, and government in any major step they take. Voluntary health and social work, however, can make no move of any great significance without substantial public support in advance. To an increasing degree this is also true of health and social work under governmental auspices. It cannot be denied, however, that there is leeway for further progress in planning within the range of freedom presently allowed us in the broad field of welfare.

A review of current and contemplated activities in the casework, health, and social group work and recreation divisions of some fifteen of the leading community welfare councils in the country in 1951 shows that these groups have developments of fundamental importance under way. They include the following:

1. Direct action of various kinds to meet the gaps in services as revealed by studies and surveys.
2. The consummation of agency mergers, the extension of existing programs and agencies, and the establishment of new programs and services and, in a few instances, new agencies.
3. Studies of children, the aged, the chronically ill, and the handicapped as a basis for making long-range plans and establishing programs and facilities to meet their needs.
4. An awareness of new needs and an appreciation of the causes of old and more familiar problems; for example, while a new interest was shown in the challenge of the aging and no specific mention was made of juvenile delinquency as such, active concern was noted for many of the community conditions which contribute to behavior problems of children and youth.
5. Those who replied to the questionnaires expressed interest in evaluating social work services and programs, in establishing criteria, and in building wider community support.

These are encouraging indications that point in the right direction, but they do not go far enough nor are there a sufficient number firmly to establish that we are probing the inwardness of community life and mobilizing the forces essential to further substantial progress in the next decade. The fact that we are still largely concerned with studies, evaluations, realignment of services, and the like is not to be taken necessarily as an indication of failure. These are genuine and basic concerns and essential steps in marshaling data and gaining the experience we need if we are to engage in fundamental planning. The time is now ripe for pressing forward more aggressively toward an advanced and coordinated type of planning activity.

We should be working more closely with other planning groups, including city and county planning commissions. The community planning conducted by such bodies is primarily concerned with streets, highways, and bridges, with zoning and parking, with the locations of industrial plants and business and residential areas, and with communication and transportation. However, they also have an interest in, and frequently authority with respect to, parks, playgrounds, and beaches, and the location of hospitals and schools. It is at these points that organized health and social work begin to prick up their ears, but it is then frequently too late to be influential and effective.

There are some but not enough examples of close working relations between community welfare councils and city and county planning commissions. Inquiries on this point were made in eleven leading cities in preparation for this paper; the results showed a variety of informal relations, a few close and even formal arrangements, and one instance in which there was not even a bowing acquaintance between the council and the public planning bodies.

There are at least three types of local community planning from the point of view of the groups involved and the functional areas concerned: (1) planning for health and welfare services by community welfare councils, community chests, and such functional and special interest groups as child welfare, health, recreation and the like; (2) planning by educational, industrial, business, labor, and governmental groups in the interests of their respective fields;

and (3) the orthodox type of city planning by public bodies with the emphasis on the physical aspects of community life.

It is unusual, if not unique, for any two of these three groups to work together closely and continuously; and by the same token an objective analysis would doubtless reveal that the planning done by each is rarely comprehensive even in so far as its own functional area is concerned.

In summary, the present status of community planning for health and welfare might be expressed as follows:

1. We have made reasonable progress in the last two decades in identifying certain common human needs at the community level, in collecting and analyzing population and other basic data, in developing new services and in modifying old ones, in improving the administration and the flexibility of agencies, and in enlisting broader community support.

2. We have broadened and deepened our knowledge concerning individual, group, and community behavior.

3. We are beginning to see the differences and the relation between needs, services, programs, and agencies. An increasing number of professional workers as well as board members now embrace the concept that the greatest of these is needs.

4. We have developed the techniques of community organization and to some extent we have broadened the base of community planning with the inclusion of individuals and groups outside our own professions.

5. We have made some contribution to the methods and the philosophy of planning in other groups; our enabling and permissive philosophy, our techniques in the use of committees and in informal education, are winning merited attention. We have learned more than most professions about how to encourage and relate expressions of community opinion and how to organize for purposeful, democratic action.

Along with these solid gains we must record some of our shortcomings and problems:

1. Our planning goals are limited, and our sights are too low. While we recognize the importance of the aid and backing of key individuals and groups and the cooperation of other planning

bodies in the community, we underestimate our ability to enlist these potential partners in what is in reality a common cause.

Whenever public health and social work have made significant contributions to community planning in their own or related fields, it has been in cooperation with other groups, professional and lay, governmental and voluntary. Cases in point are slum clearance and public housing, the handling of day care problems during the Second World War, and the reduction of infant and maternal mortality rates during the last twenty years. In these instances, there have been conscious teamwork efforts among several groups in fact-finding and analyses, in the search for the factors standing in the way of solutions, in interpretation, in formulating plans of action, and in evaluating results.

We are just beginning to give something more than lip service to the multidisciplinary approach in medical care and social work treatment; the same approach and philosophy should now be carried into long-range community planning for health and welfare.

2. Our planning objectives and methods are not defined clearly enough. In child welfare, for example, we are usually not clear as to whether our main and immediate objective is more foster homes, more and better personnel, or an all-out effort to prevent the kind of family disintegration that makes it necessary for a child to be placed in the first instance. Granted the need to move forward on all three of these fronts, we do not as a rule give them proper weighting or present them in their proper relationship.

3. We tend to place ourselves and our agencies at the center and confine our planning to the narrow sphere thus circumscribed.

4. The research, upon which all sound community planning depends, is still in its beginning stages. Frequently, when we do produce a creditable study we lack the skill and the objectivity to let the facts speak for themselves and to be guided by them.

5. By and large, community planning for health and welfare has not been given a place of vital importance in most communities. Planning is all too frequently regarded as something to be undertaken if and when the time and money can be found, and by some as a slightly socialistic enterprise to be avoided by all respectable citizens. Apparently, we have not yet succeeded in expressing suc-

cinctly and eloquently enough the code of values and the sense of obligation and responsibility which should motivate and guide communities in their health and welfare planning.

There are major blocks to successful planning, some of them admittedly outside the immediate control of the social work and public health professions. They include the following:

1. The presence of power structures. Every community harbors some groups and individuals whose backing, or at least tacit approval, appears to be a "must" for the success of any major undertaking. Not all power of this character, however, is vested in business, industry, labor, or government. There are, unfortunately, power structures made up of health and welfare agencies exclusively which control, or attempt to control, welfare policy in some communities. This observer feels about these groups as Heywood Broun once said he felt about Fascism: "I do not like Fascism," he said, "not even when it works."

2. A considerable proportion of the planning which is affecting the future of many thousands of people in the nation is presently vested in groups whose motivations are frequently good, but whose interests are primarily commercial. Among the most dynamic "planners" of this era are the large life insurance companies and real estate concerns whose programs are in some instances rapidly changing the faces of entire communities through extensive housing projects and other developments. If, as Lewis Mumford has stated, housing is the key to urban redevelopment, the future of many urban areas is subject to the control of groups which may or may not be proceeding on a long-range basis in terms of what people need and desire and the community should have.

3. The immediate pressures of economic depressions, defense programs, and industrial and military mobilization constitute further hazards to effective planning. Emergencies tend to emphasize rather than improve our present technical inadequacies and to postpone our slow progress toward fundamental health and welfare goals; granted that we must meet such emergencies as they arise, the long-range purpose of broad social planning must be to prevent rather than to tolerate them.

Unless, and until, planning for health and welfare is given a

new status, until it is consciously developed as an objective, a method, and a philosophy, until it is placed not merely on a par with the practice of health and social work but as fundamental to it, we shall continue to sail uncharted community seas without a compass. Without planning we have no reliable means of identifying and measuring needs, no way of determining how needs can best be met in the present and the future, i.e., through what service, program, agency, or combination thereof; without planning we have no really effective way of learning how to allocate funds for the alleviation and prevention of basic social problems.

Health and welfare must join hands with other groups in finding the answers to such far-reaching problems as the rebuilding of impoverished areas of our country, the restoration and reclaiming of unproductive land, reforestation and flood control, the resettlement of large numbers of people, and in making adequate provision for migrant workers in this country and for the dispossessed of other lands. There is also the pertinent and basic problem of the recruitment, training, and placement of professional personnel. Acute shortages now exist in professions and occupations essential to military and industrial mobilization and in basic community services. The sum total of the present requirements represented in these fields and the competition for qualified staff are such that it is highly inefficient to continue without some orderly plan for the staffing of at least the most crucial services in strategic areas.

These are problems of deep and widespread concern affecting all of health and welfare, and they are problems which cannot be effectively tackled in any partial or segmental manner. They require concerted action by many groups over a long period of time. Co-operative planning is at least one key to their control and ultimate solution, in so far as such problems can be solved.

We have reached the point in our planning experience that calls for an objective effort to weigh and analyze present methods and machinery. We shall be defeated at the start, however, if our objective is to preserve and protect our present planning structure and methods. Nothing less than thorough and objective analysis will suffice to determine whether present methods are the best

means of accomplishing what communities need to achieve well-being for all their people.

We have seen that in most large communities there are at present two almost separate areas of concern: city planning, as that function is usually understood; and planning for health and welfare services. There is an important and largely neglected middle ground or overlapping area, however, where both groups might well meet to share responsibility and to plan jointly. This area has to do with the finding and defining of both physical and social needs, the selection of planning priorities, decisions as to logical divisions of labor, and joint participation in the development of services, facilities, and programs.

It is conceivable that in large cities or regions a committee or commission with an over-all supervisory mandate, but without staff or operating responsibility, may be required to view the problems of the community as a whole and maintain some semblance of balance and coordination between "physical" and "social" planning. Reluctant as we may be to add another unit to the present planning structure, some new device, or at least some new provisions or point of departure, may well be necessary to insure a more inclusive approach.

As noted earlier there are a large number of governmental and private, local, and national groups devoted to one or more aspects of community planning. The National Social Welfare Assembly and the National Health Council have national responsibility for welfare and health planning. The regional offices of the Federal Security Agency are active in planning the programs for which they are responsible, local school boards plan their programs and facilities, and chambers of commerce and labor organizations plan in behalf of their interest. Not all these groups and their objectives are in harmony at all times in any community. Their very existence and the strong and sometimes conflicting stakes each of them has in the community, emphasize the importance of some machinery or device, or one group with an over-all mandate to view the community as a whole with no other axe to grind.

We have reached the age as a nation when entire towns, cities,

and regions have gone to seed economically and physically, and when imaginative, long-range physical planning and social engineering are required. Organized health and welfare groups should be a dynamic and integral part of such movements, but they should not and cannot handle them alone. Over thirty years ago Patrick Geddes, the social scientist, coined the phrase "geotechnics," which was his term for "the science of making the earth more habitable." It is something as broad and comprehensive as that which must concern us in health and welfare planning.

Basically, what we need are philosophical, scientific, and practical answers, in that order, to the hard question of how we can mobilize voluntarily and use wisely our human resources and the natural resources of soil, sun, water, and forests to benefit all the people. That question is not only much larger and deeper than the professions of health and welfare, it will always be too large for any one profession or group, and it is too comprehensive at present for any combination of groups in our country, including government. Government at any level is neither impressive nor desirable in the role of solo planner, and there are substantial reasons why the people of a community and of the nation should be represented through private as well as public bodies in all aspects of planning.

For the present we must proceed as best we can in our planning to comprehend the whole in so far as we are capable of doing so, to plan effectively within our part of the whole, and to the best of our ability relate our activities to those of other responsible planning bodies. Thus health and welfare may gradually improve their relations with other professions and planning groups and help to develop the kind of joint agreements and action that should lead to far better planning coverage.

In the final analysis, however, there can be no significant planning unless and until people are free to plan: until men and women are relatively free from biases and prejudices, from confinement to single issues and limited views, from entanglement in the webs of their own individual objectives. It is upon these things that power structures are built; these are the ingredients from which the blocks to effective planning for health and welfare are fashioned.

Social work and public health will not solve the problems that

stand in the way of planning simply by organizing their own power structures. Granted we could in due course develop power that would be feared, in the end we would do no more than meet hostility with hostility, force with force, power with power. A program of that kind and objectives of that nature are repugnant to the inner spirit and professional purpose of health and welfare.

The path to health and welfare planning which we must carve out of the undergrowth of indifference, ignorance, and reaction lies in a far different direction. Our responsibility, and our obligation, is to the entire community, as it is to the whole person and to the whole group in casework and social group work practice. That responsibility must be expressed in community planning by creating the climate and helping to set the stage wherein and whereon individuals and groups may be free and encouraged to determine community needs, establish priorities, select their own solutions, and jointly decide upon and then pursue a common plan of action.

To many of us this is "old hat." Nevertheless, we give evidence all too frequently of abiding by this general philosophy in casework and social group work practice and departing from it in community planning. We are patient, long-suffering, and professional, for example, in allowing an individual to unfold his story of frustration and conflict. We cannot, therefore, upon discovering that a portion of his problem is due to community factors become didactic and authoritative in trying to root them out. If we are willing to enhance and to cooperate with the normal processes of catharsis and the ensuing period of growth in the first instance, we can do no less in the second.

Toynbee, the British historian, wrote of the necessity for providing "equal access to all of the primary goods of life for all members of the community." If the author would allow us to change the plural word "goods" to the singular, we might then adopt the quotation to express our philosophy of community planning for health and welfare. The basic question for all of us is how we can proceed together to direct and channel the inventive genius, the organizing ability, and the vast reservoir of good will of the American people to help achieve this end in some measure both for our own nation and for other lands.

Changing Roles of Public and Private Social Welfare Agencies

By DONALD S. HOWARD

CHANGING TIMES quite naturally bring changes to social institutions and to relationships between and among social institutions. When changes of the times are accompanied by international police actions, incipient wars, and threats of all-enveloping wars, social change is likely to be more charged with emotion and to be more violent than that which occurs in more placid times.

Especially is this true if government is one of the elements in social change. For, in times of national and international stress, the role of government almost inevitably increases in importance, thus stirring old fears and reviving new ones with respect to losses of individual freedom, overextensions of government control, threats of dictatorship, and the danger of a "monolithic" society. Thus, although the subject under discussion is important in almost any day, it takes on new importance in a day on which guns boom in Korea, tightly organized groups scowl at one another across a borderline through Berlin, and radio signals of one of our largest sister nations attempt to jam the "Voice" of our own nation beamed toward it.

That change does come in relationships between public and private agencies, and that certain elements of our American society would like to see still more change in these relationships, is readily apparent. For example, during the days of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration public policy took a sharp turn from the earlier easygoing ladling out of public funds to private welfare agencies and pointed in the direction of allowing public funds to be administered only by public agencies. Recently, however, a tendency to revert to the pre-FERA practices has been clearly discernible.

Certain Federal laws providing funds for health and welfare facilities and services have, within the past several years, specifically prescribed that the funds should be made available to private as well as to public agencies. The Hospital Construction Act of 1950, for example, specifically provides that Federal financial assistance to defray part of the costs of construction of hospitals and public health center projects is to be available to states, local governments, and nonprofit agencies. Similarly, nonprofit organizations were made eligible for the subsequently provided Federal grants for "research, experimentation or demonstration toward the development, utilization, and coordination of hospital service, facilities, and resources." Still another indication of the way the ideological winds are blowing was provided by the joint Senate-House committee which in 1950 reported on the bill proposing extension of child welfare services which declared, in part: "In developing the various services under the State plans, the States would be free, but not compelled to utilize the facilities and experience of voluntary agencies for the care of children in accordance with State and Community programs and arrangements."

That these provisions do not go far enough is contended by certain groups in this country which maintain that governmental welfare services have now grown big enough and that if new services are needed these should be provided not by government but by private agencies, which, if lacking the necessary resources, should be subsidized by government. The Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth and many state conferences on the same subject appear, however, to have rejected this view and to have urged the expansion of both public and private services in the fields of their special interests.

Unfortunately, the important issue we are probing—and which in one form or another has been fair game for national conferences for years and years past—is one which despite all our practical experience and empirical knowledge still must be explored largely by hunch and surmise more than by anything approaching scientific exactness inasmuch as there has been almost no definitive study (and I am not forgetting Lord Beveridge's two volumes on the subject of voluntary action) upon which to base discussion.

In view of this lack, it is all the more regrettable that efforts made several years ago to induce the National Social Welfare Assembly, Community Chests and Councils, Inc., and certain foundations to launch and underwrite a really workmanlike study of voluntary and public agency relationships came to nothing. Under the circumstances, it is not surprising that myths, vague impressions, shibboleths, prejudices, and hope-filled predilections must bear the brunt of battle which should be borne by carefully established base lines, disciplined observations, tested theories, and verified knowledge. To point up how unscientific have been our discussions in the past, we need only to recall the wholly unwarranted dichotomy of "public" and "private" agencies, which somehow suggests that private agencies are all more or less alike and that all public agencies are also substantially similar. The historic treatment of "private agencies" as if the term really signified a logical entity loses sight of the fact that one private agency in Kokomo might be comprised of a single worker while another with headquarters in New York might have thousands of employees dispersed throughout the world. Can one seriously suggest that the relationships of the former with public agencies (which are themselves, of course, no less disparate in nature than are their voluntary counterparts) necessarily run on all fours with the relationships of the latter with the variety of governmental agencies with which it must cooperate?

To discuss private agencies as if they were all of a kind is also to lose sight of the fact that some are supported from endowments (and therefore need to please only a couple of trustees, perhaps, to make sure that the purposes to be served are in accord with some dead man's will), while others are supported by voluntary contributions solicited from virtually all members of a given community who must therefore be convinced of the validity of the programs they support if these are to survive. Equally wide differences could, of course, be pointed up as between one public agency and another.

In the absence of more established facts and proved data than are presently available it is not surprising that discussions of the respective roles of public and private social welfare agencies so

often deteriorate into a sort of battledore and shuttlecock in which clichés are vigorously bandied about. The most familiar of these trite aphorisms is of course that which contends that it is to the private agencies we must look for experimentation, for pioneering in new fields, and for selective and "quality" services, while we look to governmental agencies, ponderously trudging along trails blazed for them by voluntary agencies, to meet mass needs. The invalidity of many of the assumptions underlying generalizations of this kind is immediately apparent to observers who see highly imaginative and pioneer work such as that done by any number of public agencies which have made monumental contributions to social work practice and to the formulation of enlightened social policy. What Roger Wilson, of University College at Hull, wrote as part of his contribution to Lord Beveridge's study of voluntary action in Great Britain might well have been intended to relate to the changed situation within our own United States:

The traditional justification of voluntary social work has lain in its capacity to pioneer and in its flexibility; but it is doubtful whether either social pioneering or flexible social administration will be as dependent on voluntary organizations in the future. Major changes in the philosophy of government are already well established and are in process of being translated into administrative forms. Experience during and since the war has shown that in certain conditions Government Departments can act with creative imagination on a vast scale. As more of the first-class ability of the country is recruited into national and local government service and into the service of public corporations, and as the conception of positive social responsibility takes a firmer place in our units of administration, whether public or private, the role of the voluntary social service organization as the conceiver and executant of new developments, will diminish, though probably not disappear.¹

Conversely, one usually need not dig very deeply into his memory to recall instances where private agencies were far more backward than were the public agencies around them. In fact, it is not uncommon for governmental agencies to refuse licenses to (or otherwise to put out of existence) substandard private agencies which

¹ Lord Beveridge and A. F. Wells, *The Evidence for Voluntary Action* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1949), p. 263.

lag so far behind the procession of their day that they become menaces rather than pioneers.

Sometimes it is alleged that governmental agencies are necessarily "bureaucratic" and that only voluntary agencies can be really flexible and adaptable. Careful observers know, however, that even the largest of governmental agencies can on occasion modify their policies in the most unexpected ways to meet previously unforeseen situations, and have seen private agencies (and even private business enterprises) guilty of rigidity, inflexibility, unimaginativeness, and devotion to an outdated past that would outdo even the *Reader's Digest's* most biting story of governmental bureaucracy.

To say that private agencies, in general, have better opportunity than have public agencies to do this or that is one thing, but to allege that these same private agencies normally live up to these opportunities is something quite different. Unfortunately, discussions of public and private agencies have not often made this important distinction.

Another fallacy that has beclouded discussions of the issue before us is the allegation that because private agencies can do one thing better than another they can do it better than can a public agency. The latter does not of course always follow. Nevertheless, too ardent friends of private agencies sometimes imply that because private agencies are often in a good position to do experimenting, they are necessarily better at experimenting than are governmental agencies.

In short, what is here urged is that oversimplifications of the problem of public-private agency relations be avoided and that a differential approach be sought. This would take account of the particular nature, location, and other attributes of the private agency or agencies under consideration at any point in time and relate these to the special attributes of the public agency or agencies in existence at the same time and place.

Still another weakness in our perennial discussions about public-private agency relationships appears to be the degree to which experiences drawn upon fall so largely within the social welfare field. Lessons inherent in governmental operations in other areas of

life, such as relationships between government and the aircraft or other industries, are seldom if ever brought to bear upon problems affecting relationships within the welfare field. The extent to which the United States Government supplies capital funds to certain industries which historically have prided themselves on their risk-taking and enterprise; the current acrimonious discussion of the relationship of public to church-sponsored education; public subsidies to church-connected schools for school buses, lunches, free textbooks, and the like, surely have an important bearing upon relationships between governmental and voluntary bodies in the more limited field of social welfare also.

Much as one may regret the unscientific and undefinitive nature of the many attempts to deal with the present subject, the writer regrets even more that many if not all of the sins of the past are not only not going to be corrected, but will actually be continued; the body of tested knowledge and verified theory materially to improve upon earlier discussions simply is not at hand. However, I shall set out certain assumptions which underlie the case presented herewith, so that the reader will have a basis for appraising at least some of the shibboleths, the prejudices, and the impressions underlying this discussion.

Among the more important of these assumptions are the following:

1. There is nothing inherently bad or wrong in governmental welfare activity as such; even "bigness" in government welfare services need not necessarily be decried if democratic controls over it can be effectively maintained. The role of the voluntary welfare agency in the United States has been enthusiastically extolled for so long that it is hardly necessary to sing its praise again. However, the role of governmental agencies has been less warmly appreciated. True, the need for public agencies has often been ardently defended, but this has frequently been on the basis that the necessity for drawing on tax funds and therefore for relying upon a governmental administrative agency was not something good in itself but only a poor second best. Arguments sometimes heard in connection with community chest campaigns, that "unless voluntary contributions for this or that service are forthcoming, the govern-

ment is likely to step in and operate it," appears to be extremely ill-advised. Surely we now know enough about how to avoid venal politics (which also sometimes appear in private agency administration), about how government can positively further the realization of social and economic democracy, and about how "the people" can be given a voice in the over-all direction even of "big" governmental welfare programs (as they are not always given a voice in the direction of some of the largest of the nation's voluntary welfare programs), so that the older view, namely, that the smallest possible welfare agency is the best possible public welfare agency, is no longer tenable.

2. One of the first and highest responsibilities of government is to care for needy persons and to further the well-being of people generally. The historic view that the less government there is, the better, is today superseded by the view that government has a mission to fulfill through constructive action to assure fairer distribution of opportunity than would otherwise prevail; to act positively to make sure that freedom from want, fear, and insecurity are not mere phrases but actualities both at home and in other countries as envisaged in the universal Declaration of Human Rights. And to many of us the sight of government serving its own is as thrilling as to see people, without governmental help, do what they can for themselves and their fellows.

3. Society should allow and promote scope for individual and group enterprise and initiative not inimical to the general well-being. To say that governmental welfare activity is not itself something to be avoided as intrinsically evil is not, of course, to suggest that all services should be under governmental jurisdiction. A "monolithic" society sanctioning only activities under governmental or, for that matter, under any other single auspice (if such were possible) would be deplorable. The best interests of society clearly call for preservation of opportunity for what Lord Beveridge calls "voluntary action" fully to serve the public interest.

4. The spirit of voluntarism can find expression through volunteer services in conjunction with governmental agencies. Although, as will be emphasized later, voluntary agencies have done, and for some time to come will probably continue to do, somewhat more

than have public agencies in enlisting volunteers and in helping them usefully to serve in social welfare programs, there is nothing inherent in the nature of governmental activity which would preclude broader utilization of voluntary service. The validity of this contention would appear to be borne out not only by experience in this country, when conscious effort has been made to achieve this end (as, for example, through volunteer service in hospitals and institutions, through membership on advisory boards and appeals boards, no less than through service with voluntary agencies), but also in Great Britain where, in addition to officially sponsored utilization of volunteers, that great fosterer of voluntary effort—the Women's Voluntary Service—alone in a recent year enlisted no fewer than 120,000 voluntary workers in service to patients in hospitals and mental hospitals, to persons coming to Britain from other countries, to families of persons in prison, to individuals who are on probation, to victims of flood and disaster—to name only a few of the groups served.

In fact, enough is known today about how to enlist public interest, support, and participation in governmental welfare agencies that these could, if one set out to make them such, become truly "we" groups rather than coldly aloof "they" groups standing apart from the people themselves.

Voluntarism, which was once the almost exclusive prerogative of the upper and "leisured" classes, with the shorter work day and abbreviated work week applying to all classes of our society, can now be enjoyed by virtually all members of that society.

5. Welfare services, whether public or private, should be responsive to the general will of those contributing to their support; public services like those under voluntary auspices must captivate the interest and win the sympathy of those supporting them if continued support is to be assured. The citizenry, as indicated earlier, should and can be given an effective voice in the over-all control not only of private but of public welfare services. This can be realized in many ways—through direct representation to administrative and elected officers directly and indirectly concerned, voting on constitutional amendments and initiative measures, representation before legislative committees, appeals to legislatures

and legislators, to policy-making and appeals boards—to name but a few of numerous possible methods. Avenues such as these to community control of public welfare services, ironically enough, are not universally recognized as available to members of a community interested also in participating in the over-all management of voluntary services. This, in the mind of the writer is deplorable; the community should have as much to say about how its voluntary contributions for welfare services are spent as it does about how funds paid in taxes for welfare purposes are expended. If this principle is valid, it becomes immediately apparent that serious problems affecting the role of private agencies in a community are posed by the growing disposition to raise voluntary funds on a truly community-wide basis.

The wider these so-called "voluntary" solicitations become and the more closely the contributing group approximates the tax-paying group, the less likely it is that (granting equally effective democratic controls over both) the agencies supported through voluntary contributions can do anything very different from what the public agencies can do. Thus, our efforts toward "federated financing" may be undermining one of the most important roles which voluntary agencies should play in our society.

Problems posed by federated financing appear most sharply when attention is focused upon such controversial activities as the furthering of fair employment practices, the promotion of housing for middle-income families, or the advancement of community medical care which great numbers of contributors to federated appeals may not yet be ready to accept. As Lord Beveridge well says, "voluntarism is particularistic" (and, in Great Britain, at least, seems most willing to aid sailors, animals, and children—in that order). Perhaps if voluntary services in the United States are to realize their full potential we need to reconsider our present urge toward federated financing—not to provide less for the American counterparts of "sailors, animals, and children"—but to assure adequate support for new enterprises, services to minority groups, and needed but relatively "unpopular" causes which the community as a whole may not yet be ready to espouse.

Still another problem which presents itself if community-wide

controls over either private or public welfare services are to be really effective is the question of how the counsels of working men and women are to be brought to bear upon matters so long decided by professional men and women, bank vice presidents, and managers of industrial concerns who somehow find the time for public and community service which working people seem to feel they cannot afford to give. Perhaps more community meetings can be held at night when wage earners could more easily attend; perhaps unions could somehow arrange, as certain labor unions in Great Britain have done, to repay the earnings lost by workers while representing their fellow workers in community affairs. And perhaps it would not be too much to expect that an industrial concern, which year after year seems somehow to stagger along while its vice president gives vast blocks of time to community enterprises, might also find a way to release (with pay, of course, just like the VP) for similar community service, a worker elected by and representing his fellow workers who had contributed to community-wide solicitations for funds. The present policy emphasizing the easy dispensability (from the plant, that is) of vice presidents and the apparent indispensability of some working man out in the plant somewhere is perhaps one that should be taken up by the National Association of Plant Vice Presidents as one that reflects inimically upon the usefulness of vice presidents in industry!

The tendency, sometimes seen, of private agencies to concentrate for reasons of publicity upon services (or perhaps upon particular cases) most likely to elicit public sympathy and support is one which has serious repercussions for public agencies. In one large city it is even alleged that certain private agencies tend to keep under care cases which are regarded as sure "tear-jerkers" and therefore ready aids to fund raising even though they are eligible for care from public agencies. Any tendency to allocate to private agencies (without consideration of what they are most competent to undertake) the "popular" and naturally "sympathy-arousing" services can only mean in the long run a disservice to tax-supported agencies. While it is true that citizens *must* pay taxes, this is strictly true only in the short run; for, over the long pull people cannot be expected to support public services about

which they have little or no conviction. When voluntary agencies for publicity purposes retain for themselves and then play up sympathy-arousing services or cases, taxpayers may feel the public agencies are not "doing a job."

In passing, I hope I may be excused for expressing my personal regret that advertising urging voluntary contributions for welfare services so largely stresses children with bandaged heads and youngsters with mended but crippled legs. The preponderance of emphasis on these kinds of cases not only exaggerates the extent to which the solicited funds actually go for the purposes depicted, but fails to develop public interest and concern in other areas of service equally if not more in need of voluntary support. Yet, I recognize that the problem is a bigger one than the welfare field alone can solve.

6. Persons meeting conditions of eligibility prescribed as a condition for receipt of any welfare service should be entitled to this as if it were a right and, if not accorded the service expected should have the right to a "fair hearing" whether the service is administered by a private agency or by a public agency. Overly ardent partisans of voluntary welfare agencies who regard public agencies as essentially "bureaucratic" and think that all the important experimentation is done by private agencies would do well to ponder the tremendous contributions made in recent years by public agencies through their emphasis upon clear definitions of their responsibilities, written statements of policy, and provisions for fair hearings for those who believe they have not been accorded full justice under certain programs.

The importance, to private as well as to public agencies, of defined and stated policies is doubtless fairly apparent. The application of the concept of fair hearings to the field of voluntary welfare services will, however, probably not commend itself immediately to all observers. Yet, if it is conceded that the fair hearing is a device to help persons in need of welfare services actually to be benefited as intended, and if it is further conceded that voluntary services in a community are needed, as much as are governmental services, then it would seem logical that hearings would

serve a useful purpose *vis à vis* voluntary welfare services also. In fact, the usually narrowly defined nature of many voluntary services and the consequently large number of gaps into which would-be beneficiaries can fall would seem to suggest the special need in this area for some aid to an applicant who in the absence of help in finding the particular agency to meet his need finds that he must be his own community organizer.

If the principle of fair hearings were extended to the field of voluntary social services provision might, for example, be made for a welfare council, or other similar body in a community, to establish a panel of persons who would be available to sit on small hearings boards as needed. At least in the early stages of such a fair hearings procedure, the findings of boards should probably not be binding upon the voluntary agencies concerned. Nevertheless, a hearing board's decisions would undoubtedly carry considerable moral force, would influence public opinion, and would certainly help planning councils and federated financing organizations to see where were the gaps in community services, the pinches resulting from shortages of funds, and the need for better coordination.

If the administration of voluntary services were thus modified it is likely that they would be regarded by beneficiaries in a considerably more friendly light, more as services to which they might feel entitled and less like gratuitously and capriciously given benevolences which so often arouse feelings of resentment. Although there is no similar guide to public attitudes toward voluntary welfare services and charities in the United States, it is not without significance that a British counterpart of our public opinion polls made in conjunction with the Beveridge study of voluntary action revealed that

Among the general sample little more than one in four say that charity is a good thing, while one in five disapprove. Among the National Panel . . . a clear majority—53 per cent—state that although there are some aspects of charity of which they approve there are others that they disapprove; of the remainder about three-quarters disapprove of charity with no qualifications at all.

Overwhelmingly, among both panel and general samples, the main feeling against charity derives from the belief that there should no longer be any need for it, at any rate in its organized form; that the State should be responsible for providing relief wherever it is required.²

7. There is nothing inherent in governmental auspices which precludes pioneering and experimentation (as evidenced by the development of atomic weapons), research (witness the vast amounts appropriated for medical, mental health, and other scientific research), highly individualized service (as exemplified in public mental or other hospitals), casework service (such as that offered families and children under child welfare service and related programs).

In so far as this assumption is valid, there is not likely to be any easy answer as to how public and private agencies might best relate to one another. What is needed is the already mentioned differential approach to determine (and, probably, again and again, as circumstances change, to redetermine) which public and which private agency at a given place and at a particular point in time should do what, for whom, and how. The writer would as flatly reject the idea that the welfare field can be neatly divided as between public and private agencies as he questions (for general application in the United States, at least) the conclusion of Lord Beveridge when he says:

The main attack on wasteful or harmful use of leisure cannot, in a free society, be made by direct action of the State. It must depend on the development of alternative interests and free pursuits; it depends on education, in the widest sense of the term, at all stages of life, but above all in adolescence and after. . . . This is an interest of the State but should not be undertaken by the State. Here is a limitless field for Voluntary Action, assisted so far as is necessary but not controlled by the power of the State.

That citizens should find their way through the growing complexities of modern society is equally an interest of the State, but equally an interest which the State must seek to secure, not directly, but indirectly, through voluntary action.

Advice to citizens must be given independently by other citizens. A public authority may provide the material means for Citizens' Advice Bureaux but should no more control them than it controls universities.³

² *Ibid.*, pp. 56 and 57.

³ Lord Beveridge, *Voluntary Action* (New York: Macmillan, 1948), pp. 286-87.

Having seen effective public recreation and leisure-time programs, having witnessed thoroughly professional casework services provided under public auspices, and having had firsthand experience in a public university, the writer is much less sure than Lord Beveridge appears to be that these fields are not appropriate ones for governmental agencies to serve.

What is now to be said about possible roles for voluntary services is meant to be interpreted in light of what has already been said about "the differential approach"; nothing said here should be construed to apply to all private agencies everywhere or even to all private agencies in any one place. Rather, consideration must be given in any instance to the nature of a particular agency, to the method of its financing, and to the nature of public services in the same community, before firm decisions as to the respective roles of each can be reached. At the risk, therefore, of seeming even here to oversimplify the problem—and yet without either accepting or rejecting in their entirety the historic "parallel bar" and "extension ladder" theories and Joe Baldwin's more recently suggested "porch light" theory—it occurs to the writer that voluntary agencies in the welfare field might emphasize especially such activities as:

1. *Experimentation and, more particularly, experimentation with experimentation.*—To suggest that experimentation is something to which private agencies might well devote their energies is not, as indicated earlier, to suggest that private agencies are necessarily better at experimentation than are public agencies. It is only to say that among various opportunities open to voluntary agencies, experimentation is one of the most important.

To be effective, however, experimentation needs to be accompanied by careful research which establishes the base lines from which the experiment started, carefully reports the different approaches made to the solutions of the problem in hand, analyzes which solutions worked (and how, and under what circumstances), and evaluates the end results. Unless experimentation is thus accompanied by research, its value to others is obviously limited.

Experimentation in experimentation is also much needed; not just moderately new "gimmicks" grafted onto older policies or

procedures, but bold new approaches to methods of solving problems and to methods of conducting experiments so as to make them as productive as possible of new gains and of further experimentation. In international circles, as among our own American foundations, much attention is being given these days to the "multiplier" principle, how funds or effort can best be employed so as to release the maximum possible quantity of other funds and effort. Within the welfare field experimentation with this principle could be most rewarding.

Again, instead of a private agency's going off on its own to experiment in some small and possibly isolated manner perhaps there could be experimentation with new methods of demonstration, as for example taking the skilled supervisors and trained workers of a private family agency and, assuming they were capable of or could learn to do the job, placing them with a probation department, say, which serves thousands of cases, thus helping to upgrade a large service reaching many, many times the number of families that would otherwise have been served through the independent family welfare service.

2. *Research*.—Again, to say that private funds might well be spent for social research is not to imply that public agencies cannot also do research and do it well. However, the more welfare services concentrate under public auspices, the greater will be the need on the part of the public to know whether these expanding and increasingly complex public programs are or are not effectively meeting existing needs. Even if research under public auspices gives a fair basis for appraisal of public programs, research under private auspices might well serve as a basis for appraising the governmental research if not of the public programs themselves. Also, research under private auspices might well serve to analyze and to make available for particular needs some of the vast accumulation of social data and information originally collected through the extensive facilities of government but not readily available to potential users without further refinement and synthesis.

3. *Community planning*.—The desirability of attaining in American communities the optimum balance between governmental and voluntary action suggests the importance of devoting

voluntary agency resources to community planning. Again, this is not to suggest that governmental agencies too will not be doing planning, but only that unless voluntary resources in adequate amounts are also devoted to planning, our communities are likely to lack assurance that the optimum democratic benefits of both voluntarism and of state action are being realized.

4. *Social action*.—For much the same reasons that voluntary resources are needed for community planning they are needed also for social action. Modifications in public welfare programs often cannot, without great embarrassment, be suggested by public officials. On the other hand, if left to themselves, governmental agencies might want to expand beyond the point they can best serve the community. Consequently, voluntary agencies should give careful consideration to the possible long-range usefulness of devoting to social action sufficient resources to assure the development of the best possible community, nation, and world-wide action in the interest of human betterment.

5. *Services to higher income groups*.—Clearly related to experimentation, as previously suggested, with the "principle of the multiplier" is the proposal here made that private agency resources might wisely and well be utilized for services to higher income groups, as well as to persons in lower economic groups. Public opinion and attitudes toward government being what they are at this moment in the United States, opposition to governmental services (and to what is loosely termed the "welfare state") seems to grow more and more intensified and bitter the higher the income groups the government attempts to serve. So long as public housing is limited to slum clearance, the rehousing of needy and destitute families, and so long as public medical care is limited to the medically indigent there is relatively little opposition to government's providing these services. However, as government serves higher and higher economic groups—even daring to suggest housing for middle-income groups and disability insurance and medical care plans for families *with incomes*—its efforts are assumed to reflect the machinations of a diabolically power-hungry welfare state, and really set off the howling critics. In consequence, since government seems handicapped for the moment in serving families and in-

dividuals not meeting the usual standards of destitution, indigence and need, this field would appear to be a "natural" for voluntary social welfare services.

What is here urged for voluntary action would be especially applicable to the establishment of welfare services for mutual aid groups (such as the so-called "family unions" of Latin America and Europe), for labor unions, and other similar associations of individuals and families who might provide for themselves casework service, counseling aids, child welfare services, parent education, medical care, and the like, thus avoiding the implication that these are services which others must provide for them and thus avoiding likewise the resentment not uncommonly roused by services gratuitously and often condescendingly offered by voluntary agencies.

6. *Services staffed relatively largely by volunteers.*—Although, as earlier indicated, public agencies can go far in utilizing citizen interest and participation, the situation in this regard, as it obtains in the United States today, suggests that voluntary action may well be devoted to programs involving an unusually high degree of lay and volunteer service as, for example, the Boy and Girl Scout and similar movements. Interestingly enough, Lord Beveridge, though for a quite different reason, comes to substantially this same conclusion, of which he writes:

The example of Germany shows the vital necessity of not allowing youth organizations to become a function of the State, so that it can be used to further a particular policy of the State. Here above all there must be free action by diverse voluntary agencies.

The ultimate purpose is preparation of young people for their duties as citizens, which means understanding of public problems at home and also understanding of international problems. The youth organizations must regard themselves as training-ground for adult education of every kind.⁴

To the present writer it appears that if some future totalitarian government really wants to steal and prostitute to its own purposes the nation's youth organizations (or, for that matter, its social insurance systems, steel mills, aircraft plants, or oil refineries), whether these are under voluntary or official auspices will probably

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

be of little consequence. However, conditions of the day being what they are, it would appear that lay and volunteer workers could probably be more easily recruited and their interest sustained by a voluntary agency than by a unit of government with allegedly limitless resources at its disposal to hire paid workers if it only wanted to, and with vast responsibilities and pressing demands which make it somewhat more difficult than might otherwise be the case to develop the patience and sympathetic tolerance essential to working constructively with relatively large numbers of volunteer and lay personnel.

Not all the roles suggested here as commending themselves to this writer as peculiarly adapted to voluntary agencies are of the type usually calculated easily to separate potential donors from their money. Still, much remains to be learned about what the public really is willing to support voluntarily. Research, like certain other activities, usually thought of as having little donor appeal, is widely financed from funds of voluntary agencies supported by popular contributions.

But, even if services such as those suggested here did not prove to be sensational money raisers, there still might be good point to consider the possibility of having them administered by voluntary agencies, even if this necessitated somewhat more selective appeals for funds. For the sum total of good likely to be thus accomplished, through more effective experimentation, through increased research, and more extensive social action, notwithstanding a possible shrinking of voluntary contributions, might greatly outweigh the good that would otherwise be done by continuing to support voluntary services which are not significantly different from those administered by public bodies which, with proper community leadership, might be able to take them over.

Perhaps, as Edward C. Jenkins contends, philanthropy in the United States is "our freest enterprise." Whether or not this is strictly true is not here important. What is important is that what freedom and what other attributes are inherent in voluntary action at any given time, and place, and what strengths characterize governmental action in the social welfare field at the same time and place shall be welded into a unified and dynamic instrument to

further the best interests of the individuals and families living in that locality at that time. Perhaps if we pursue more diligently a differential approach and avoid the temptation to develop general and neat theories (whether "parallel bar," "extension ladder," or what have you!) which imply that all private agencies are much alike, that all public agencies are also substantially similar in nature and which are alleged to be equally applicable regardless of time, place or circumstance we may—by not pretending to have answers (to say nothing of all the answers!) of universal validity—find those relationships between public and private agencies which are best calculated to serve the highest interests of mankind everywhere.

New Trends in Corporate Giving

By F. EMERSON ANDREWS

A NEW GIANT roams the field of philanthropy. In the past decade his gifts have soared to eight times their prewar stature. He gives away each year more money than is collected by all the community chests in the United States—though nearly half of their own receipts come from him. Often he gives grudgingly, sometimes only under heavy pressure, sometimes thoughtlessly and un-wisely, and sometimes in considered, effective ways which no one else could have matched. This new giant in philanthropy is the corporation.

In the latest year for which government figures are available, 1948, corporate gifts were reported at \$239,000,000. While it is true that individuals gave fifteen times that much in that year, most of the individual giving went to churches and to causes with "heart appeal" that have mass collection methods. For the welfare and health causes with which social workers are chiefly concerned, corporate gifts are already a crucial part of most annual budgets, and their importance is increasing. Russell Sage Foundation has therefore undertaken a substantial study of corporation giving,¹ and permits me to make this advance report of our findings.

At least three attitudes toward such giving may be distinguished among corporation executives. "Give money to charity?" sputtered one corporation president. "Why, that's nonsense. Any money we would give must be taken either from profits, which belong to stockholders, or wages of employees, or show up in higher prices to our customers. We have no right to do any of those three things."

"Don't use my name, or some folks would think I was pinko," said an executive of one of the ten largest corporations in America, "but I think American corporations must go much farther in giv-

¹ F. Emerson Andrews, *Corporation Giving* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1952).

ing. Let's say all welfare services make a circle of 360 degrees. If a corporation sets up operations in a backward community in Brazil, it occupies the whole 360 degrees. It builds the church, constructs hospitals and schools, pays the doctors, brings in the teachers, finances all the welfare services there are—not because it's a philanthropist at heart, but because it can't make a good profit, and perhaps can't operate at all, in a community that doesn't have those services. In the United States corporations now take in about 45 degrees of that welfare circle. We don't need to go the whole 360, but we ought to get to about 180."

Henry Ford II stated the case from a slightly different angle when recently the Ford Motor Company Fund was set up:

Traditional sources of financial support of private institutions operating in these fields are tending to disappear. We do not like the consequences inherent in the alternative facing such private institutions—that of having to turn to government for much-needed financial aid. In our opinion, this situation places an increasing responsibility upon American businesses in their role of industrial citizens.

It may be helpful to see where corporation giving started, and how it grew. It began in a substantial way with the railroads' support of YMCA's, needed as a "second home" for many of their men. By 1890 there were eighty-two railroad YMCA's at divisional and terminal points, with the railroads paying usually about 60 percent of the operating budgets, the employees making up the remainder. Spurred on by success with the railroads, the YMCA organized an industrial department and began expanding into other industries.

In the First World War the YMCA, the American National Red Cross, and finally the United War Work Campaign conducted the first massive drives in the history of philanthropy. The Red Cross ventured to campaign for \$100,000,000 in 1917, seeking from business a large part of this goal. But many corporations, particularly the large national ones with their corps of legal advisers, felt they could not safely contribute directly without stockholder consent. To get around this problem the Red Cross suggested an extraordinary device—the Red Cross dividend. At least 148 corporations declared such a dividend in the fund-drive week, urging stockholders to execute a form permitting the corporation to pay the amount

to the Red Cross War Fund. They collected for the Red Cross \$18,000,000, but this result was on the whole disappointing; too many stockholders held on to their extra dividend, refusing to assign it. Besides, the less cautious corporations, which had contributed directly to the drive, went unchallenged.

The Red Cross 1918 campaign was conducted in a changed atmosphere. Another \$100,000,000 goal was set. The Red Cross dividend was abandoned, corporations no longer fearing to contribute directly. How much of the amazing \$168,000,000 finally subscribed came from corporations is unknown, but United States Steel alone gave \$2,000,000, and General Electric and the Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) each half a million. Business contributions to the succeeding United War Work Campaign were even larger. The First World War pinpoints the first general, heavy, corporate giving.

Such contributions dropped sharply after the war, but a new type of agency was rising. Largely out of the war chests (of which some four hundred sprang up during the First World War) grew the community chest movement. In 1920 there were only 39 chests, raising from all sources about \$20,000,000; in 1925, 240 chests were raising \$58,000,000; by 1929, 331 chests raised \$73,000,000. In this expansion, business had a large share. Chests were and are excellently suited to the conditions of corporate giving. The community chest, combining many types of local services, provided a convenient channel through which much of the corporation's responsibility as a "citizen" could be met with a single contribution.

Nevertheless, corporate giving was not high even in prosperous 1929, nor at any time between the two wars. Comprehensive statistics begin with 1936, the first year in which corporations were permitted to deduct "contributions or gifts" for tax purposes, up to 5 percent of net income.

How that came about may be remembered. Social agencies, and particularly chests, were greatly concerned in 1935 when it became clear that the increased Federal expenditures due to relief payments would result in the first really substantial corporation taxes in history. Corporations might cut off their charitable contributions as a result. It was decided to urge the Congress to grant

tax exemption to corporations for charitable contributions, as had long been the case for individuals. Frederic R. Kellogg, president of Community Chests and Councils, pleaded the case before the House Ways and Means Committee in July, 1935, so energetically that the next day he suffered a stroke, and died a month later. Newton D. Baker was an influential witness before the Senate Finance Committee. The Congress included the desired provision, which has been effective since January 1, 1936.

But at first contributions were not heavy. They averaged \$30,000,000 a year from 1936 through 1939. They rose sharply during the war years, reaching a peak of \$266,000,000 in 1945. On January 1, 1946, the excess profits tax was abolished, and it is more than a coincidence that giving dropped, though never back to the levels of the thirties. The latest government tabulation is for 1948, at \$239,000,000, and our sampling survey indicates that no major change occurred through 1950. But in 1951 and 1952 high dollar profits, increased tax rates with a new excess profits tax, and the clarifying legal situation induced many executives to reconsider their giving policies, and a substantial upturn appears to have occurred.

Who gives and how much? Of the 537,000 corporations which reported contributions for 1948, half a million (93 percent) had assets of less than \$1,000,000 each. These comparatively little fellows gave \$68,000,000—29 percent of all the reported contributions—at the relatively high rate of 1.3 cents on each dollar of profit.

The 36,000 intermediate United States corporations, with assets ranging between \$1,000,000 and \$100,000,000, made 53 percent of the contributions, \$125,000,000, at a rate of 0.8 cents on their profit dollar. The gigantic corporations with assets of \$100,000,000 and over numbered exactly 601. This small group gave \$44,000,000, or 18 percent of the reported total, but it was at the exceedingly low rate of 0.3 cents on the dollar.

The general impression has been that only the very large corporations give substantial sums, and at a generous rate in proportion to income. Only the first portion of this statement is true, with some notable exceptions. Big gifts do come from large corporations because they have so substantial a part of the total profit; but if

their rate of giving had even equaled that of the "under \$1,000,000" corporations, their gifts would have quadrupled.

The rate of giving varies widely among different types of corporations. Trade and service corporations are usually small and close to their customers; they are subjected to heavy pressures—"customer blackmail," one company president called it—and see at first hand the advantages of giving, and the penalties for not giving. Their giving rates are high, and help explain the record of the smaller corporations.

The possibilities and the dangers in this new force in philanthropy can scarcely be assessed without some knowledge as to where corporation contributions are going. Here government figures are not available, but preliminary findings of our survey at Russell Sage Foundation can now be announced. This study is based upon a random sampling of corporations of all sizes and types.

Corporations in this random sample were contributing in 1950 more than a third of their total gifts and contributions (36 percent) to community chests; they gave an additional 8 percent to other welfare agencies, making 44 percent, or nearly half of every dollar to this one broad category.

Health accounted for a large quarter of all types of corporate gifts—27 cents out of every dollar. Of this amount, 15 cents on the dollar went directly to hospitals, and it should be pointed out that hospitals were also the beneficiaries of some of the money given for community chest budgets. National health agencies, including Red Cross, polio, heart, and like groups, received another 10; miscellaneous health, the remaining 2 cents.

Education received slightly less than health—21 cents out of the gift dollar. Just half of this amount went to direct aid for schools and colleges and for scholarships and fellowships. Research in colleges and agencies supporting "the American way" split the remainder.

Religious agencies, unless they are interfaith or at least nonsectarian, present difficulties to corporations, where gifts are scanned by boards of directors of possibly many faiths and sometimes by stockholders. It was no surprise to find only 4 percent of over-all corporate gifts in this category, though nearly half of all individual

giving goes to religious agencies. The final 4 percent could not be pinpointed.

How is this giving done? With honorable exceptions, corporations have not yet efficiently organized their giving operations. The fault is not delegation of this chore to the office boy; most companies fall into the opposite error of letting all its detail go clear to the top, where there is neither time nor specialized knowledge for efficient handling.

The Russell Sage Foundation survey will report that in 89 percent of the sampled companies, requests for contributions go directly to a single top executive, usually the president himself. Three percent of the companies, usually large ones, have contributions committees. The whole board of directors functions in 2 percent of the cases. The rest scatter—finance committees, local or district managers, the company foundation. Less than a third of these corporations include contributions as a budget item.

Giving is a complicated business. Julius Rosenwald once declared that he found it "nearly always easier to make \$1,000,000 honestly than to dispose of it wisely." Every large company is bombarded by appeals for funds—literally hundreds of appeals in a year, in many cases. What does the harried president do? He gives in to the squeezes when they begin to hurt. As for the rest, usually he takes refuge in the causes he has heard about year after year. In the Russell Sage survey, 18 percent of all sampled companies gave all their contributions to annually recurring drives, and 91 percent gave at least half their 1950 contributions to such drives. Most of these agencies need support, but to give only to them is to miss opportunities to fit the company's gifts to the particular needs of its community and its own special knowledge and resources. This is not so much giving as giving up.

We tried also to look into the motivation of corporate giving, for here is a very different giver from the individual as philanthropist. This giver is legally enjoined against mere sentiment and pure altruism. Depth of need and worthiness of the cause are not decisive, and may be irrelevant if other factors are not present. The chief consideration must be a hard-headed weighing of the advantages

of the gift to the corporation, its employees, and the local community.

Desiring to dig beneath the usual public statements into the real motives and purposes of corporate giving, we asked for frank, down-to-earth statements, promising privacy except for group summaries. Of the 326 cooperating corporations, 248 answered this question, naming from one to four factors chiefly influencing their gifts. The following percentages add to more than 100 since one corporation might cite two or more factors.

Thirty percent of the replying corporations frankly acknowledged benefit to the company as a chief factor in their giving; and this percentage rose to more than half for the larger corporations. Nine percent cited benefit to employees; 28 percent, "public relations or customer pressure." By this showing these three factors, all of which involve direct or indirect business benefits, are collectively quite influential in guiding and motivating contributions.

A still larger group, 42 percent, cited "duty to community." Thirty-one percent declared themselves influenced by the worthiness of the cause; 16 percent, by a sense of moral obligation or corporate good citizenship. In this group of answers self-interest is not explicit.

Finally, 8 percent were influenced by a desire to limit expansion of government into welfare fields; 7 percent, by their profit position and tax considerations; and 5 percent, by the example of other companies.

Individual replies, which cannot enter these group summaries, were sometimes fascinating. One company, a brewery, specified "public reaction if we do not contribute." Another said "union pressure."

Such giving suggests both dangers and opportunities. One obvious danger is the closer tie between philanthropy and the business cycle. We were just emerging from the great depression when statistics on corporate giving began to be available in 1936, and we have since gone through no major red-ink period. But it seems exceedingly likely that in a depression, if corporate profits vanished, corporate contributions would nearly vanish, too. Unfor-

tunately, that is precisely the period when the needs of welfare agencies expand.

Business executives are aware of this danger. In our interviews many of them expressed the hope that they could keep their contributions up even if profits went down. A few corporations have done something positive about the problem.

The International Harvester Company in Chicago, for example, has set up a foundation which it regards as chiefly a "peaks-and-valleys" enterprise, designed to accumulate profits in good years to supplement the lower contributions of poor years. But our examinations of the confidential reports of other companies which have had a bad year usually show drastic cuts in contributions. Unless further efforts toward correction are made, some agencies which rely substantially upon corporate gifts are flirting with disaster.

Will corporations attempt to control agencies to which they are large contributors? One corporation is known which tries to have a major executive on the board of every agency, college, or institution to which it makes substantial contributions. From the corporation's viewpoint, this insures knowledge of the effectiveness of the agency's program and an opportunity to suggest activities of direct interest and value to the corporation. But the agency and its other contributors may have a different view. While most agencies seem to feel that only one taint attaches to money—"taint enough"—cases are one record where contributions have been refused where even the suspicion of influence might alienate other contributors.

Much good may also come from introducing the new hard-headed giver into a field where sentiment and good intent have sometimes resulted in little practical accomplishment. If philanthropy grows in the corporate budget, and as experience accumulates, corporate giving may result in a wiser spread of contributors' dollars. Corporations are more accustomed than individuals to avail themselves of advice of such agencies as the National Information Bureau, Better Business Bureaus, and councils of social agencies, and to require and study financial statements. In so doing they not only make more certain that their stockholders' money is effectively spent; they help raise standards in the field.

A word is needed on the legal and the tax situation. The generous impulses of corporate directors have sometimes been frozen into inaction by the chill shadow of the law. Do corporations have the right to contribute stockholders' money?

Fortunately, these murky waters have been much cleared by developments of the last several years. As of now, permissive legislation of some sort is on the books of twenty-six states and the Territory of Hawaii. The covered states include all the industrialized area from which business contributions are substantial, but in some of these states bothersome limitations do remain. However, no significant law case has been decided against a contributor company in any state since 1919. The bugaboo of illegality has been largely laid. Corporations can give to philanthropic causes if at least slight relation to their own interests can be demonstrated.

Taxwise, the facts are startling. Current corporation taxes are 30 percent on the first \$25,000 of net income and 52 percent on the rest, with excess profits taxed at 82 percent. Under these high rates corporations may make substantial contributions at small cost in surrendered profits.

A corporation with normal profits can give away \$1,000 at a net cost of \$480, the remaining \$520 representing taxes saved. If it is in the excess profits bracket, its gift of \$1,000 costs only \$180; conversely, if it is willing to surrender \$1,000 in profits, it can make a gift of \$5,556, the government paying \$4,556 in forgiven taxes.

These remarkable bargains are a danger as well as an opportunity. The National Planning Association recently issued a report by Beardsley Ruml and Theodore Geiger, *The Five Percent*, which pointed out, presumably with favorable recommendation, that if all corporations should give to the 5 percent deductible limit, their 1951 contributions could rise to the remarkable total of \$2,200,000,000.

No jump to \$2,000,000,000 took place, or is in prospect, and until corporations have more experience in wise giving, an increase of that dimension might indeed be dangerous. The Congress might regard the reduction in revenue so seriously, in the present emergency, that it would rescind the 5 percent provision. Sudden abolition of this tax provision would be a catastrophe for agencies which

have grown largely dependent on corporate giving over some fifteen years. Or the Congress might make up the lost amount by additional taxation. If this was directed chiefly against corporations, the tax deduction would be mere illusion. If it fell largely on other groups, they would in effect be paying most of the costs of corporate philanthropy, with no control over its directions. The public reaction against business could be severe if corporations are in such a rush to take advantage of the charitable bargain that they indulge in foolish, wasteful, or obviously selfish enterprises. The dollars they spend are now more the taxpayers' than those of the shareholders.

But programs can be planned wisely, with such clear benefits to community and company that they will receive general approval. The community chest, hospitals, other traditional agencies, will continue to need support; private education may require increased aid merely to survive. One hopes also that corporations will spend some of their funds, as a few of them already do, in new and creative patterns.

Corporations occupy a niche in philanthropy which neither government nor private givers nor great foundations can satisfactorily fill. Great foundations and national associations cannot deal with local problems, and local government may be hamstrung by tax burdens and political involvements. But the company, with intimate knowledge of its own community, can find many projects which will contribute directly to better health and living conditions for the workers, and reap rewards in local prestige and customer good will.

Each industry, even each company, has also its own particular knowledge, skills, and interests. These can be applied in its philanthropic program, rendering unique service. Insurance companies have a natural concern for health and for accident prevention. Motor companies might profitably busy themselves with traffic problems, parking, and city planning. Travelers' Aid and the YMCA would seem logical fields for railroads, buses, and airlines. Problems of the older worker and of the handicapped must be solved primarily by business.

The Bulova Watch Company, one of the few corporations which

does give substantially 5 percent of its net income, has set up through its contribution arm, the Bulova Foundation, the Joseph Bulova School of Watchmaking in Woodside, New York. This handsomely appointed school accepts only disabled veterans, whom it trains free as watch repairers. A large proportion of them are paraplegics—wheel-chair cases—and the school has its own wheel-chair basketball team. In its five years, it has graduated 346 men, 95 percent of whom are now gainfully employed, chiefly in retail jewelry stores.

The Ford Motor Company Fund has devised an ingenious scholarship plan whereby the children of Ford employees are selected on competitive tests by an independent outside agency and their expenses paid in the college of their choice, with an additional \$500 a year paid directly to the college (unless it is tax supported) for the college's general support.

The Rich Department Store in Atlanta gives directly to regular, recurring drives but supplies also most of the operating income of the Rich Foundation. This foundation develops special programs, which have included a building to house the Emory University School of Business Administration; a radio station for the city, county, and surrounding communities owned and operated by joint boards of education; an out-patient clinic for a local hospital.

Social agencies may be able to form a community planning partnership with corporations, gaining from them funds and skills which are nowhere else available. True, this new giant in philanthropy will be guided by self-interest. In the short view, self-interest is mere selfishness; in the long view, we are coming to learn, the highest self-interest is often scarcely to be distinguished from the things we used to call altruism and dedication to the social welfare. Can we help the new giver to take the long view?

Agency-School Partnership in Staff Development

By WERNER W. BOEHM

THE RECENT INFLUX OF SOCIAL WORKERS into the public services, which accompanied the creation and expansion of the Federal Social Security Act, has created the need for both the public and the voluntary social agencies to develop the competence of their staffs.

This vast undertaking has brought the professional schools and the agencies closer together, for it was to the schools that the agencies naturally turned for trained personnel. To increase that supply the Federal Government has made funds available for stipends and work-study programs through the United States Children's Bureau and the National Mental Health Act. Individual voluntary agencies have granted scholarships and stipends, and the national functional agencies have conducted regional institutes and workshops.

There is no question but that schools and agencies are working together. Some schools, for instance, offer the practitioner regular courses at convenient hours, special institutes or off-campus courses, special sessions, and opportunities for faculty to have field experience.

The question we have to ask ourselves is whether the schools, whose primary task must be to train professional personnel through their regular curricula, do not weaken their forces by engaging in staff development activities and whether working with agency staffs is the proper province of the schools. A tentative answer is supplied by the history of professional education in the United States.

It was the need for staff training on the part of the Charity Organization Society in New York City which led to the establish-

ment of the oldest school of social work in this country. In 1897 Mary Richmond made a plea for "a training school in applied philanthropy" which would serve as a "vital connection between public and private charities." The first training course, which took place in 1898 and lasted six weeks, was expanded into a one-year course in 1904. A little later the New York School of Philanthropy became the New York School of Social Work, with a fully developed two-year program.

The significance of present-day training in schools of social work is that the schools are no longer used as outlets of agencies for their staff development or as training centers in which the agencies have a proprietary interest. This means further that the agencies are the partners of the schools in the task of training professional personnel, not for a specific function nor for a specific agency.

One might be inclined, therefore, to answer in the negative the question whether the schools have a responsibility together with the agencies for staff development for fear the hard-won gains of professional education might be obliterated if the schools were to regress to that earlier stage. However, such a reply would be scarcely realistic, for the function of the schools is well established. Furthermore, two factors militate strongly in favor of the schools' activity in staff development.

One of these factors has to do with the spread of schools of social work under the auspices of state universities. State universities, by virtue of their support from tax funds, carry an obligation of service to the state in addition to the traditional duties of teaching and research. The service function of the state universities can take on important proportions because the bulk of social workers are in public-supported agencies.

It is therefore not surprising that the pressures are great on state universities to provide educational services over and above the regular curricular offerings to those members of the social work profession within the state or the region who are eager to refresh their knowledge and to develop their skill.

The other factor has to do with the current status of our profession. In a recent study by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Salaries and Working Conditions in Social Work," it was found that among

the estimated seventy-five thousand social workers in 1950, in this country only, a minority had graduate professional training. Two thirds of the workers were college graduates. About half of the total reported some kind of graduate work, and two out of every five reported some kind of graduate education in schools of social work. However, only one in every five had a graduate degree in social work.

Equally startling are the findings dealing with age, marital status, and remuneration. The average age of social workers covered in the survey was forty. Over half were married, 36 percent single, and 13 percent widowed, divorced, or legally separated. The survey found further that in the spring and summer of 1950 the average annual social work salary was \$2,960; less than 10 percent received a salary below \$2,000 a year, and less than 10 percent earned more than \$5,000 a year.

It is obvious that the vast majority of this group will never find it possible or perhaps desirable to embark upon professional training. Age, remuneration, and previously received training seem to constitute major obstacles.

This stark reality seems to impose an inescapable responsibility upon the schools to consider their role in the professional development of the partially trained or the untrained members of the profession. They must do so without for one moment relinquishing their primary task. The schools are also faced with finding ways and means of continuing the development of the trained workers who are eager to increase their professional competence.

These responsibilities are being discharged. Schools are sponsoring summer institutes and workshops. Faculties are participating in the educational activities provided by national and state conferences of social work. School representatives are working on planning committees and sometimes also are serving as faculties of institutes and workshops under the auspices of the national functional agencies. School faculties are providing consultation on questions of training, or collaborating with agencies on problems of administration, and are in general sharing with agencies in the task of raising the level of professional training.

The question, then, is not whether the schools of social work

should engage in staff development programs, but what the nature of their activity should be. I shall point up some of the factors which have to be considered in order to evolve criteria for sound partnership and offer some suggestions which might lead to sound relationships between school and agency. There are five questions which will have to be answered:

1. *Who should be the object of staff development?*—There are three groups of people who are in need of professional development: the fully trained, the partially trained, the untrained. The question is which of these groups the school can best serve. Obviously, a pat answer cannot be given to this question. It is suggested, however, that in general the fully trained members of agency staffs find it more convenient to attend the institutes and workshops which are provided under the auspices of the national functional agencies and to derive professional stimulation from attendance at state and national conferences. However, the summer institutes offered by some of the older schools of social work also are often specifically geared to trained personnel and are not available to the other two groups. It might be wise for the schools to consider whether in addition to these established offerings, they might wish to provide educational experiences of limited duration, available to the untrained or the partially trained. Perhaps after examination and research it might be established that in the interest of professional economy some schools should specialize in institutes primarily designed for trained personnel and other schools develop training devices for partially trained or untrained personnel.

It should be added that a good deal depends on the regional and the local resources and also on the educational institution of which the school of social work is part. In areas where trained, experienced social workers are not too numerous and where schools of social work attempt to fill unmet needs of considerable magnitude a good argument could probably be made for the establishment of devices designed primarily to raise the level of competence of the untrained or partially trained. I believe that this holds especially true for portions of the Middle West and the South, whereas on the Eastern seaboard and the Pacific Coast there is probably more rea-

son for the schools to husband their educational opportunities on behalf of the further development of the trained personnel. However, this question cannot be answered in definitive terms and might well be made the object of study on the part of joint school-agency committees and also on the part of the newly formed National Council of Social Work Education.

2. *What should be the object of staff development?*—This question implies that care should be taken to determine the purposes of the offering of the schools for staff development. Should they be designed to increase and develop specific skills, should they be designed to deepen knowledge of social work and of social forces, should they be designed to develop or increase professional philosophy and to create a set of attitudes usually considered the prerequisite of the professional person? Or should they have all three of these objectives?

It has been said by many educators in the field of social welfare that a profession without a philosophy is not a profession. Teachers of social work consider the acquisition of professional attitudes as important as they consider the acquisition of knowledge and skill. It would therefore be of utmost importance that the schools make a specific effort to help those members of the profession who by virtue of being partially trained or untrained may not have obtained a professional philosophy to acquire one through staff development programs.

I believe that this problem cannot be emphasized enough. We are concerned because we are a profession which insists that techniques of operation be based "upon principles rather than upon rules-of-thumb procedures or simple routine skills. It is a characteristic of professional education that it teaches a number of principles and concepts for differential use."¹ This point of view must be considered by each profession, and it certainly must be considered by ours, which having only a minority of trained people, must safeguard its professional status by imbuing the majority of its untrained or partially trained members with its philosophy. It seems to me that the schools, in their concern with what

¹ Charlotte Towle, "The General Objectives of Professional Education," *Social Service Review*, December, 1951.

is basic, can undertake this task more effectively than the agencies, but not necessarily without the agencies.

An equally strong point can be made for the schools' suitability in developing the basic knowledge of the members of the profession. The schools do not usually provide training for specific positions in specific agencies, but they aim to provide a generic education which includes information courses and concepts. The fact that the participant in staff development programs is a person who is practicing certain sets of skills in an agency setting should enable the agency more effectively than the schools to be active in training for the skills required by each given agency. It can never be the goal of staff development to train for social work performance in general. Rather, staff development seeks to increase the competence of an agency staff member and by doing so to improve the quality of agency service.

Here is an important difference between the full-time student of social work and the member of a staff development program. The latter has acquired a degree of competence in doing which in many instances may exceed that of the full-time student. Therefore, the agency is in a better position to develop that competence further because it knows how much additional development is indicated and possible. It would seem, therefore, that in the area of training for skills the school can at best be advisory or consultative, unless a particular faculty member has by virtue of his specific experience a contribution to make in certain technical fields or can help in the establishment of a research program in the agency.

In other words, the educational principle which emerges is that the school is best equipped in direct staff development participation to provide leadership in the areas of professional philosophy and basic knowledge, whereas in the area of specific skills, the major effort should be made by the agencies with the schools participating in an advisory and consultative fashion.

3. *What should be the content of the school's activity in staff development?*—This question seeks to determine whether the school should aim to refresh the knowledge that once has been imparted to its graduates, or whether the school should make an effort at acquainting agency staffs with new developments in the field, or

whether the school should deepen the professional caliber of agency staffs by dealing with social issues in an effort to develop competence in social policy and statesmanship.

Again it is impossible to state that the schools should follow any one of these courses. A good deal would depend on the needs of the particular staff. Under certain circumstances and with a highly selected group of practitioners a good case could be made for institutes dealing with social policy. But only a few schools are equipped to engage in such activity.

Whether the school should specialize in refresher courses or in institutes dealing with new developments of practice cannot be answered without considering the level of training and competence of the participants. It would seem unwise to expose untrained staff members to a refresher course which could profitably be provided to partially trained staff members. In other words, the depth and the scope of the content of school offerings should be determined by the educational readiness of the participants. The educational readiness is often not easy to ascertain, and cannot be determined unless schools and agencies cooperate in the development of criteria for admission and in the development of content. A beginning step in the development of such criteria would be to send questionnaires to the prospective participants both before and after the course.

4. *What should be the nature of the learning experience of the participant in staff development?*—Just as we know that students of schools of social work learn best by a progression from the simple to the complex, by being helped to master increasingly difficult units of learning, by being helped to mobilize their anxieties into integration rather than into paralysis, we have to bear in mind when we consider the objectives of staff development programs who the learner is and should see that his past experience makes for most effective learning.

The fact that the learner in a staff development program is not a student engaged in full-time activity of learning, but a practitioner who continues his agency job or takes a temporary and short leave from his agency, has considerable bearing upon what can be expected from him. Probably he should be exposed to con-

cepts and ideas slowly because he is used to dealing with specific tasks, involved skills and techniques, and not with the concepts which underly them.

Another factor is the practitioner's age. He is usually not so young as the school of social work student. This means that his rate of learning is probably slower than that of the full-time student. However, the factor of experience and position would seem to operate as compensation. Many a concept which has to be learned by the student first intellectually and then emotionally in order to be applied, has already been absorbed by the experienced member of the staff development group in implicit form. As a result, his learning undergoes exactly the opposite process from that of the student's; while the student develops skill through absorption and application of concepts, the experienced person develops an awareness of concepts through analysis of the skills he has been practicing, and once these concepts have become explicit to him, uses them to develop further skills.

Certainly also attention should be paid to what can best be learned in the classroom and what can best be learned in the field. We believe that we have some answers to this question so far as the training of the full-time student is concerned, but it does not follow that these same answers apply for the person who comes from experience to school-sponsored institutes or workshops. This question should be subject to study and experimentation, and the whole problem should in the meantime be tempered by realism. This means that we cannot expect to produce the equivalent of a professionally trained social worker no matter how many institutes and workshops he has been involved in, and the short time spent in an institute away from the agency with its change in scenery, way of life, professional company, and its demands for professional activities quite different from the habitual agency tasks should lead to limited expectations. Results cannot perhaps be seen immediately but might be observed only in improved practice after a period of digestion and integration which follows the return of the employee to full-time practice. Perhaps all these considerations can be summed up by saying that the learning experience is conditioned by the needs of the participant in a staff development

program to develop the generic or the specific part of his professional equipment. The terms "generic" and "specific" are used here in the sense in which Jeanette Regensburg has used them. She says:

The student's activity, i.e., his use of skill, is specific; the concept behind his activity is generic. In professional practice neither exists alone and both are essential. As was said earlier in this paper, the specific is quite literally what the student learns to do; the generic explains why and how he must do it, or at times points up the common element in several skills. The generic is basic to the student's becoming a professional person in that it gives him transferrable and adaptable knowledge and transferrable elements in skills; but the specific is equally fundamental in that he is required not only to know but to do.²

5. *What form should the school's activity take?*—Several of the possible forms for the school's activity in staff development have already been mentioned. Each has its place, and in some instances school faculties have participated profitably in several of these activities.

A definite answer as to which type of activity is most appropriate can only be provided by research, experimentation, and open-minded trial and error. One obvious device is the participation of the consumers of the staff development program in its planning and evaluation. Frequently, valuable suggestions can be obtained about content and form of staff development programs and about flaws and shortcomings. This is especially true of staff members who have had repeated experience in such programs.

It would seem that one particular form of staff development is highly questionable, both from the point of view of educational soundness and from that of professional benefit to the participants. I refer to the creation of extension courses under the auspices of schools of social work. Social work is learned through the absorption of a series of interrelated units. Each one of them is fairly meaningless without the other. Extension courses cannot be provided except on a piecemeal basis, hence learning is limited. If the number of credits for extension courses which can be taken on a part-time basis is limited, numerous problems are created because

² Jeanette Regensburg, "Integration of Field Work into Professional Education," *Selected Papers* (New York: American Association of Social Work, 1948), p. 15.

to obtain academic credit, extension students usually must be admitted to schools of social work. If they are given academic credit without admission, there is a danger of lowering professional standards. It is not always easy to find faculty of competence equal to that in the resident school for extension courses which are offered away from the university center. But even if extension students are admitted to the school of social work, the school has the problem of administering criteria of admission in the face of local pressures and is confronted with the problem of interpreting and applying selective admission policies to staff members within one locality or one agency. But apart from these questions of policy and administration, the main objection to extension courses, whether they be given for credit or not, is the difficulty of integrating their content with other experiences. Even if the course material could be dovetailed admirably with simultaneous and qualified supervision, there would still remain the danger of too narrow and too literal application of the materials to the specific tasks of the job.

It has been argued that in extension centers which are located away from the main campus, only information courses dealing with medical, legal, psychiatric, and cultural content should be given. This argument, which is more valid certainly than the argument in favor of skill courses which are not too meaningful unless accompanied by an opportunity to test the skill through doing, is nevertheless not too sound. Very often the teaching personnel available for such courses is not of the same caliber as that of the resident faculty and, moreover, certain content courses can create the dangerous illusion of knowledge which, while it appears facile and easily available, usually is found effective only if it is subject to the controls and disciplines of practice under supervised conditions and if it is exposed to the test of the relationship to other courses.

From all that has been said, the implication is that while the schools should by all means participate in staff development, there are certain limitations which if borne in mind will make the school-agency partnership most effective. These limitations consist not only of the fact that the school must make staff development its secondary and not its primary concern, but also of the fact that the

impetus, the direction, and the focus for staff development programs must come from agencies which are in a better position to know the needs of their staff than are the schools. The schools should hold themselves ready to participate in the various ways which I have described. But it would be a mistake if the schools were ever to take over the staff development training which the agencies need. I believe there is little danger that such a dependency situation on the part of the agency would ever be created. In fact, analysis will probably show that the schools have not done too much, but rather too little about participation in staff development programs. It is hoped that within the limits of budget and staff resources and perhaps through the creation of additional staff in subject specialties (and not through the addition of faculty staff as extension course coordinators) the participation of the schools in staff development programs will become more effective and more widespread.

There are a number of distinct advantages which can accrue to the schools from such activities apart from the satisfaction which the schools have in contributing to the raising of over-all professional standards. One of these advantages would be the schools' legitimate request for reciprocity which would involve more access of faculty members to agency programs and more opportunity for staff activities so that faculty members can enhance their own clinical competence; for we know that they have staff development needs and problems too. Another gain would come from the multidisciplined approach which is increasingly used to bring the insights not only of psychology but also of sociology, anthropology, and other social sciences to bear upon agency problems. As the faculties of schools of social work and their scientific brethren begin to understand each others' language new lines of communication are opening up and can profitably be used for the solution of practical problems.

There is yet another advantage. The three basic processes—casework, social group work, and community organization—which are being taught separately in schools of social work and the two major tools which apply to these processes, namely, administration and research, which are also taught separately, are often intertwined in the experience of agency staffs. Schools can perhaps learn a good

deal from the examination of the interrelationships of these processes and skills and might through research eventually further define not only common generic elements which underlie casework, social group work, and community organization, but also specific skills, some of which are similar to each of the three processes. Means may be found through an examination of agency practice to teach more effectively the tools of administration and research not separate from, but as part of, the basic processes. This may be a Promethean venture, but there is reason to believe that the schools will be better able to discharge their duties on behalf of the full-time student by being in close touch, through educational activities in staff development, with the practice of social work, its shortcomings, and also its promises.



Appendix A: Program

*General Theme: Helping Achieve Democracy's
Promise for All People*

SUNDAY, MAY 25

8:30 P.M.

General Session. Democracy's Offering in a World of Conflicting Values

Lester B. Granger, President, National Conference of Social Work; Executive Director, National Urban League, New York City, presiding

Adlai E. Stevenson, Governor of Illinois

Alan Valentine, President, Committee for a Free Asia, San Francisco

MONDAY, MAY 26

9:15 A.M.-10:45 P.M.

General Session. Strengthening the Foundations of Democracy

Helen R. Wright, First Vice President, National Conference of Social Work; Dean, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, presiding

People Living and Working Together in a Changing Social Order

Ira De A. Reid, Professor of Sociology, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.

11:15 A.M.-12:45 P.M.

Section I. Services to Individuals and Families

GROUP MEETING 1. THE SERIOUSLY DISTURBED CHILD IN AN INSTITUTIONAL SETTING

Esther H. Clemence, Field Supervisor, Smith College School for Social Work, Northampton, Mass., presiding

1. Work with the Child

Bernice H. Crumpacker, Chief Residential Worker, Child Guidance Home, Cincinnati

2. Work with the Parents

Dorothy D. Mueller, Chief Psychiatric Social Worker, Child Guidance Home, Cincinnati

Discussant:

Anne Benjamin, M.D., Assistant Professor of Psychiatry, University of Cincinnati

Open discussion

GROUP MEETING 2. PRACTICAL AND THEORETICAL ASPECTS OF CHILD CASE-WORK IN TYPICAL AGENCY SETTING

Marian M. Wyman, Executive Secretary, Down River Consultation Service, Wyandotte, Mich., presiding

Selma Fraiberg, Consultant in Casework with Children, Down River Consultation Service, Wyandotte, Mich.; Lecturer in Mental Hygiene, School of Social Work, University of Michigan

Open discussion

GROUP MEETING 3. CASEWORK IN PUBLIC ASSISTANCE—MYTH, FRILL, OR GOAL?

Wilma Walker, Associate Professor and General Supervisor of Field Work, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, presiding

Jeanette R. Grafstrom, Deputy Commissioner, Department of Public Welfare, Jamestown, N.Y.

Discussant:

Sarah Riley, Supervisor of Field Services, Department of Social Welfare, Topeka, Kans.

GROUP MEETING 4. FAMILY LIFE EDUCATION

Jean M. Leach, Assistant Casework Director, Family Service, Cincinnati, presiding

The Contribution of the Family Service Agency to Family Life Education

Malcolm S. Nichols, Executive Director, Family Society of Greater Boston

Open discussion

GROUP MEETING 5. MAKING A BEGINNING IN RESEARCH

John G. Hill, Director of Research, Health and Welfare Council, Philadelphia, presiding

1. A Private Agency's Experience

Elizabeth Herzog, Associate Director of Research, Jewish Family Service, New York City

2. A Public Agency's Experience

Lillie H. Nairne, Director, Orleans Parish Department of Public Welfare, New Orleans

Open discussion

GROUP MEETING 6. EXPLORING COLLABORATION BETWEEN CASEWORK AND SOCIAL SCIENCE IN PRACTICE

Stanley P. Davies, General Director, Community Service Society of New York, New York City, presiding

Otto Pollak, Social Science Consultant, Jewish Board of Guardians,

New York City; Assistant Professor of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

Open discussion

GROUP MEETING 7. FEES

Isabel P. Kennedy, Executive Secretary, Health and Welfare Federation of Allegheny County, Pittsburgh, presiding

Administrative and Community Implications of Fee Charging

Frederika Neumann, Director, Casework Services, Jewish Board of Guardians, New York City

Discussants:

Ralph Ormsby, Executive Director, Family Service Society, Philadelphia

William Schreiter, Administrative Assistant, Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society, Chicago

Open discussion

GROUP MEETING 8. CHILDREN OF DIVORCED PARENTS

Norma D. Levine, Assistant Director, Jewish Family and Community Service, Chicago, presiding

Susan Yocom, Caseworker III, Family Service Bureau, United Charities of Chicago

Discussant:

Charlotte Babcock, M.D., Practicing Analyst and Consultant, Family Service Bureau, United Charities of Chicago

Open discussion

GROUP MEETING 9. FAMILY CARE

Helvi Boothe, Director of Psychiatric Social Work, the Menninger Foundation, Topeka, Kans., presiding

1. Family Care for Mentally Ill Patients

Irene Waryas, Supervisor, Wayne County Consultation Center, Detroit

2. Family Care for Older Persons

Louise Magary, Caseworker, Community Service Society of New York, Jackson Heights, N.Y.

Discussant:

Mary K. Keeley, Director of Field Service, Child Welfare League of America, New York City

Open discussion

GROUP MEETING 10. AID TO THE PERMANENTLY AND TOTALLY DISABLED—FRONTIER FOR SERVICE IN PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

James Brindle, Director, State Department of Public Assistance, Harrisburg, Pa., presiding

1. Some Implications for Medical Participation

Carl E. Rice, M.D., Medical Consultant, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C.

2. Some Implications for Improved Services to Individuals

Mary S. Weaver, Principal Medical Assistance Standards Specialist, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C.

Panel members:

Margaret E. Gwinn, Assistant Supervisor, Medical Social Services, Division of Public Assistance, Oklahoma Department of Public Welfare

Bertram M. Bernstein, M.D., Medical Administrative Consultant, Bureau of Assistance, New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies

Open discussion

Section II. Services to Groups and Individuals in Groups

Is Group Work's Commitment to Preparation of the Individual toward Assuming Social Responsibility in Maintaining and Constantly Improving Our Democratic Society Explicit in Practice?

Margaret Williamson, Lecturer in Group Work, New York School of Social Work, Columbia University, New York City, presiding
Clara Kaiser, Professor of Social Work, New York School of Social Work, Columbia University, New York City

John McDowell, Executive Director, National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, New York City

William Brueckner, Executive Director, Chicago Commons Association

Open discussion

Section III. Services to Agencies and Communities

Community Planning for Health and Welfare—Where Are We and Where Are We Going?

Sanford Solender, Director, Jewish Center Division, National Jewish Welfare Board, New York City, presiding

Leonard W. Mayo, Director, Association for the Aid of Crippled Children, New York City

Discussants:

Charles I. Schottland, Director, State Department of Social Welfare of California, Sacramento, Calif.

Violet M. Sieder, Associate Director, Health and Welfare Planning Department, Community Chests and Councils of America, New York City

Waterman Baldwin, Executive Secretary, Community Welfare Council and Madison Community Chest, Madison, Wis.

2:00 P.M.-3:30 P.M.

Section I. Services to Individuals and Families

GROUP MEETING 1. THE SERIOUSLY DISTURBED CHILD IN THE CLINIC SETTING
Othilda Krug, M.D., Director of Psychiatry, Child Guidance Home, Cincinnati, presiding

1. Work with the Child

Marion Johnstone, Child Guidance Counselor II, Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago

2. Work with the Parents

Helen Orvis, Child Guidance Counselor II, Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago

Discussant:

Anne Benjamin, M.D., Consulting Psychiatrist, Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago

Open discussion

GROUP MEETING 2. CURRENT PROBLEMS IN ESTABLISHING PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN OUR SOCIAL WELFARE PROGRAM

Robert H. MacRae, Director, Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago, presiding

Phyllis Osborn, Associate Professor, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago

Albert Deutsch, author, journalist, and lecturer, Washington, D.C.

Open discussion

GROUP MEETING 3. FOSTER CARE OF CHILDREN

Eva Burmeister, Executive Secretary, Lakeside Children's Center, Milwaukee, presiding

An Over-all Look at Institutional and Foster Home Service

John E. Dula, Consultant-Surveyor, Child Welfare League of America, New York City

Discussants:

Adrian Vander Veer, M.D., Chicago

Lorena Scherer, State Child Welfare Supervisor, Jefferson City, Mo.

GROUP MEETING 4. USE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS IN STAFF DEVELOPMENT AND MORALE

Panel chairman: Rae Carp Weil, Executive Director, Jewish Family Service Association, Cleveland

Panel members:

Callman Rawley, Director, Jewish Family and Children's Service, Minneapolis

Norman Polansky, Associate Professor, School of Social Work, Wayne University, Detroit

Helen C. Young, Director, Department of Family and Child Welfare, County of Westchester, Department of Public Welfare, White Plains, N.Y.

Ernest F. Witte, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C.

Open discussion

GROUP MEETING 5. A DYNAMIC APPROACH TO CASEWORK WITH THE AGED

Ollie Randall, Consultant on Services for the Aged, Community Service Society of New York, New York City, presiding

Individualizing the Aged

Marc Hollender, M.D., staff, Chicago Institute for Psychoanalysis, and Consultant, Drexel Home for Aged Jews, Chicago

Discussants:

1. Casework Application of Our Knowledge of the Aged in a Public Agency

Margareta Tangerman, Dean of Women, Valparaiso University, Valparaiso, Ind.

2. Casework Application of Our Knowledge of the Aged in a Private Agency

Faye Katzen, Supervisor, Department for the Aged, Jewish Family and Community Service, Chicago

Section II. Services to Groups and Individuals in Groups

(These five sessions deal with the over-all topic "Training for Responsible Citizenship.")

GROUP MEETING 1. CITIZENSHIP TRAINING OF THE PRE-ADOLESCENT IN GROUP WORK

Saul Bernstein, Professor and Head of Group Work Department, Boston University School of Social Work, speaker

Open discussion

GROUP MEETING 2. CITIZENSHIP TRAINING OF THE ADOLESCENT IN GROUP WORK

Discussion leader: Hazel Osborne, Associate Professor of Social Work, School of Social Work, University of Pittsburgh
The Adolescent in the Current Social Scene

Leta Galpin, Teen-age Program Staff, National Board, YWCA, New York City

Discussant:

Gisela Konopka, Associate Professor, School of Social Work, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis

Open discussion

GROUP MEETING 3. THE DEVELOPMENT AND FURTHERING OF SOCIALLY DESIRABLE GOALS WITH THE YOUNG ADULT GROUP

Ned Goldberg, Executive Director, Young Men's Jewish Council, Chicago, presiding

The Young Adult in the Current Social Scene

Melvin A. Glasser, Associate Chief, State and Community Relations, Children's Bureau, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C.

Discussants:

Bernice Bridges, Director, Youth Division, National Social Welfare Assembly, New York City

Penrose Scull, lecturer for *Time*

Open discussion

GROUP MEETING 4. GROUP WORK WITH PARENTS OF HANDICAPPED CHILDREN

Panel chairman:

Florence Rasp, Secretary, Group Work Council Welfare Federation of Cleveland

Panel participants:

Alfred Rath, Director, Association House, Chicago

Mary Thompson, Executive Secretary, Chicago Hearing Society

Joseph Levy, Social Work Consultant, Chicago

Open discussion

GROUP MEETING 5. RELATING THE OLDER ADULT GROUP MEMBERS TO COMMUNITY RESPONSIBILITY

Peter Tarrell, Director, Golden Age Department, Jewish Community Centers, Chicago, presiding

1. Helping the Older Adult to Keep Related to the Mainstream of Community Life

Jerome Kaplan, Group Work Consultant, Hennepin County Welfare Board, Minneapolis

2. Using the Unique Contribution of Later Maturity for the Well-being of the Community

Georgene E. Bowen, Director of Recreation for Older People, Health and Welfare Council, Philadelphia

Open discussion

Section III. Services to Agencies and Communities

GROUP MEETING 1. WHO DOES THE PLANNING FOR A COMMUNITY'S HEALTH AND WELFARE PROGRAM?

Panel chairman: Sydney B. Markey, Director, Philadelphia District, Health and Welfare Council, Inc., of Delaware, Philadelphia and Montgomery Counties, Philadelphia

Panel participants:

From the Point of View of a Public Agency Board Official
Bert B. Busby, D.D.S., Member, Board of Supervisors, County of Milwaukee, Milwaukee

From the Point of View of a Welfare Council Board Member
Mrs. Rollin Brown, President, Welfare Council of Metropolitan Los Angeles

From the Point of View of a Lay Leader of a Representative City-wide Council

Howard M. Wells, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of East Cleveland

Open discussion

GROUP MEETING 2. (*Joint session with the Committee on Financing of Social Welfare Services*) HOW CAN WE PAY THE BILL FOR ADEQUATE VOLUNTARY HEALTH AND WELFARE SERVICES?

Panel chairman: Samuel A. Goldsmith, Secretary, Jewish Welfare Fund, Chicago

Panel participants:

Roy Sorenson, Managing Director, Metropolitan Board, YMCA, San Francisco

Ralph Smith, Executive Director, Community Chest, Albany, N.Y.
Julius Rothman, National CIO Community Services Committee, New York City

Harold A. Moore, Vice President, Chicago Title and Trust Company, Chicago

Open discussion

GROUP MEETING 3. RELATIONSHIP OF PUBLIC AND VOLUNTARY HEALTH AND WELFARE SERVICES

Panel chairman: Chester L. Bower, Executive Secretary, Community Council, Houston, Texas

A Redefinition of the Respective Roles of Public and Voluntary Agencies
Donald Howard, Dean, School of Social Welfare, University of California at Los Angeles

Panel participants:

Ernest F. Witte, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C.

Fedele Fauri, Dean, School of Social Work, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Rudolph T. Danstedt, Director, Social Planning Council, St. Louis
Open discussion

Committee on Financing of Social Welfare Services (*Joint session with Section III—Services to Agencies and Communities, Group Meeting 2. See their program.*) **How Can We Pay the Bill for Adequate Voluntary Health and Welfare Services?**

4:00 P.M.-5:30 P.M.

Committee on Financing of Social Welfare Services. Implications of New Social and Economic Trends and Patterns of Philanthropic Giving and of Methods of Distributing or Allotting Health and Welfare Funds

Shelby M. Harrison, Member, Social Welfare Consultants, New York City, presiding

New Trends in Corporate Giving

F. Emerson Andrews, Director, Publications and Research in Philanthropy, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City

Open discussion

Committee on Methods of Social Action. Social Agencies and Social Action

Alton A. Linford, Associate Professor, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, presiding

The Role of Social Agencies in Social Action

Benjamin E. Youngdahl, Dean, George Warren Brown School of Social Work, Washington University, St. Louis

Case Stories

1. A Neighborhood Youth and Government Project

Lucy P. Carner, Executive Secretary, Division on Education and Recreation, Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago

2. Social Action for Care of the Mentally Ill

Ralph Ormsby, Executive Secretary, Family Service of Philadelphia, Philadelphia

3. Social Agencies, Loyalty Oaths, and Civil Defense

Helen M. Harris, Executive Director, United Neighborhood Houses of New York, Inc., New York City

Committee on Personnel

GROUP MEETING 1. THE NATIONAL SURVEY OF SALARIES AND WORKING CONDITIONS OF SOCIAL WORK PERSONNEL—ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE PLANNING

John C. Kidneigh, Director, School of Social Work, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, presiding

1. Facts and Implications for Public Welfare Personnel

Dorothy B. West, Chief, Operating Statistics Branch, Division of Program Statistics Analysis, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C.

2. The Importance of Job Satisfaction to a Satisfactory Job

Wayne Vasey, Director, School of Social Work, State University of Iowa, Iowa City

Open discussion

GROUP MEETING 2. THE PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN SOCIAL AGENCY AND PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL IN STAFF DEVELOPMENT

Arnold E. Gruber, Director of Casework Services, Hennepin County Welfare Board, Minneapolis, presiding

1. Representing the Professional School

Werner W. Boehm, Assistant Professor of Social Work, School of Social Work, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis

2. Representing the Social Agency

Alice L. Taylor, Training Consultant, Division of Technical Training, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C.

Open discussion

8:30 P.M.

General Session. Social Work's Response to Democracy's Challenge

Fred K. Hoehler, Past President, National Conference of Social Work; Director, Illinois State Department of Public Welfare, presiding

Lester B. Granger, President, National Conference of Social Work; Executive Director, National Urban League, New York City

TUESDAY, MAY 27

9:15 A.M.-10:45 A.M.

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Preventing Family Failures

Esther McGinnis, American Home Economic Association, Washington, D.C., presiding

1. Social Factors Affecting Family Life**2. Economic Factors Affecting Family Life**

Ewan Clague, Commissioner, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, D.C.

3. Emotional Factors Affecting Family Life

Helen Ross, M.D., Administrative Director, Institute for Psychoanalysis of Chicago

4. Mrs. Will F. Lyon, Board of Directors, United Charities of Chicago, Chicago***Combined Associate Group Meeting. What Climate in Group Work Agencies Promotes the Development of Social Goals?***

Dorothea Spellman, Professor of Group Work, School of Social Work, University of Denver, Denver, presiding

1. National Agencies' Part in Establishing the Climate

Fern M. Colborn, Secretary, Social Education and Action, National

Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, New York City

2. The Loyal Agency's Responsibility through Agency Philosophy, Administrative Policies and Procedures, Attitudes of Board and Staff Relations in Developing a Healthy Climate
Conrad B. Rheiner, Executive, Good Samaritan Community Center, San Francisco
Bernard M. Schiffman, Program Supervisor, Jewish Community Center, Essex County, Newark, N.J.
3. A Board Member Views the Climate of Group Work Agency in Developing Social Goals
Mrs. Karl Knauss, Board Member, Detroit Council of Girl Scouts, Detroit
Open discussion

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Methods of Increasing the Contribution of Members of the Rehabilitation Team—Teamwork Process in Action

Lewis Newman, M.D., Chief of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation, Hines Hospital, Veterans Administration, Hines, Ill. moderator

Panel members:

Virginia J. Cornwell, Director of Social Service
Ben Landsman, Caseworker
Elisabeth Lassers, M.D., Medical Director
Marie W. Ullmann, Chief Psychologist
Diana M. Racich, Director of Nursing and Home Life
Ruth E. Scott, Housemother
Genevieve Anthony, Dietitian
Vera E. Dennis, Director of Physical Therapy
Virginia Reeves, Director of Occupational Therapy and Recreation
Charlene Rooth, Speech Therapist
Dorothea M. Deethardt, Director of Education
Rev. Shelton Key, Protestant Chaplain

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Joint Agency Participation in Emergency Welfare Services in Civil Defense

Panel chairman: Alvin E. Rose, Commissioner, City of Chicago Department of Welfare

Panel members:

Max W. Rote, Jr., Assistant Director, Disaster Services, American National Red Cross, Washington, D.C.
Alden E. Bevier, Director, Defense Welfare Services, New York State Civil Defense Commission, New York City

Evelyn S. Byron, Director, Volunteer Bureau, Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago, Chicago

Barent F. Landstreet, Chief, Evacuation Planning Branch, Emergency Welfare Services Division, Federal Civil Defense Administration, Washington, D.C.

Naomi Hiett, Executive Secretary, Welfare Council, Sangamon County, Springfield, Ill.

Open discussion

11:15 A.M.-12:45 P.M.

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Preventing Family Failures

Perry B. Hall, Executive Secretary, Family and Children's Service, Pittsburgh

Melvin H. Hosch, Executive Assistant, Regional Office, Federal Security Agency, Chicago

Elizabeth McKinley, Director of Social Service, University Clinic, University of Chicago

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Community Teamwork Meets Refugee Needs

Panel chairman: Arthur Greenleigh, Executive Director, United Service for New Americans, New York City

Panel members:

Ruth Fizdale, Director, Family Service Department, New York Association for New Americans, New York City

Cordelia Cox, Resettlement Executive, Resettlement Service of the National Lutheran Council, New York City

Frank Christensen, Director, Resettlement of Exiled Professionals, Detroit Project of the International Rescue Committee, Detroit
Florence Cassidy, Secretary, Michigan Commission on Displaced Persons, Detroit

Father Aloysius Wycislo, Assistant Executive Director, War Relief Services, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, D.C.

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Community Planning for Citizen Participation in Health, Welfare and Recreation Services and Emergency Programs

1. The Friendly Visitors to the Aged Program Developed by Volunteer Bureau, Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago

Mary A. Young, Executive Secretary, Division of Family and Child Welfare, Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago, Chicago

2. The Tri-City Human Relations Committee, Pasco-Kenniwick-Richland Area near the Hanford, Washington, Atomic Energy Installation

Wendell B. Norris, Secretary, Tri-City Human Relations Committee, Pasco, Wash.

Discussion leader: Mrs. Theodore O. Wedel, Advisory Committee on Citizen Participation of Community Chests and Councils of America and the National Social Welfare Assembly, Washington, D.C.

Open discussion

WEDNESDAY, MAY 28

9:15 A.M.-10:45 A.M.

General Session. What We Believe

Ruth Taylor, Second Vice President, National Conference of Social Work; formerly Commissioner, Westchester County Department of Public Welfare, N.Y., presiding

Benjamin Youngdahl, Dean, George Warren Brown School of Social Work, Washington University, St. Louis, speaker

Lester B. Granger, President, National Conference of Social Work; Executive Secretary, National Urban League, New York City, discussion leader

Open discussion

11:15 A.M.-12:45 P.M.

Section I—Services to Individuals and Families. The Role of Casework in Social Policy

Florence R. Day, Director, Smith College School for Social Work, Northampton, Mass., presiding

Gordon Hamilton, Professor of Social Work, New York School of Social Work, Columbia University, New York City

Discussant:

Charlotte Towle, Professor, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago

Section II—Services to Groups and Individuals in Groups

GROUP MEETING 1. CITIZENSHIP TRAINING OF THE PRE-ADOLESCENT IN GROUP WORK

Saul Bernstein, Professor and Head of Group Work Department, Boston University School of Social Work, speaker

Open discussion

GROUP MEETING 2. CITIZENSHIP TRAINING OF THE ADOLESCENT IN GROUP WORK

Discussion leader: Hazel Osborne, Associate Professor of Social Work, School of Social Work, University of Pittsburgh

GROUP MEETING 3. THE DEVELOPMENT AND FURTHERING OF SOCIALLY DESIRABLE GOALS WITH THE YOUNG ADULT AGE GROUP

Ned Goldberg, Executive Director, Young Men's Jewish Council, Chicago, presiding

The Interorganizational Young Adult Council of Newark, N.J.

Peter V. R. Schuyler, Jr., Executive Director, Welfare Federation of Newark, Newark, N.J.

Discussants:

Murray Frank, Chairman, Young Adult Council, National Social Welfare Assembly, New York City

Bernard Schiffman, Assistant Director, Jewish Community Centers of Essex County, Newark, N.J.

Open discussion

GROUP MEETING 4. GROUP PROCESSES IN ADULT EDUCATION

Paul Simon, Associate Professor, School of Social Work, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill., presiding

Malcolm Knowles, Executive Secretary, Adult Education Association of the U.S.A., Chicago

Discussant:

Walter L. Kindelsperger, School of Social Work, Tulane University, New Orleans

Open discussion

GROUP MEETING 5. METHOD IN WORKING WITH OLDER ADULTS

Panel participants:

Fannie Allen, Program Director, Wharton Center, Philadelphia

Nahum Weissman, Supervisor, 12th St. Council Center, Jewish Community Center, Detroit

Jean Hanson, Social Group Worker on Staff, Neighborhood House, Milwaukee

I. Bigford Krasner, Senior Worker, City-wide Recreational Program for Older People, Jewish Federation of St. Louis, St. Louis

Open discussion

Section III—Services to Agencies and Communities

GROUP MEETING 1. A COORDINATED APPROACH TO COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION ON THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL—THE COMMUNITY WELFARE CENTER

Melvin A. Glasser, Associate Chief for State and Community Rela-

tions, Children's Bureau, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C., presiding

1. Community Welfare Centers in Operation

Glen Leet, Consultant on Community Development, Technical Assistance Administration, United Nations, New York City

2. Problems and Prospects of Developing the Coordinated Approach in International Programs.

Frances Kernohan, Assistant Officer-in-Charge of United Nations Social Affairs, Bureau of United Nations Affairs, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C.

Open discussion

GROUP MEETING 2. PROBLEMS AND PROGRESS IN EVALUATING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF SOCIAL WORK SERVICES

C. W. Pfeiffer, Executive Director, Welfare Council of Metropolitan Los Angeles, presiding

1. Problems in the Evaluation of Social Work Effectiveness

Helen Witmer, Consultant in Research, Children's Bureau, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C.

2. Progress Report: Institute of Welfare Research Follow-up Study of the Results of Social Casework

J. McV. Hunt, Department of Psychology, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

3. Progress Report: Community Organization Approach to the Evaluation of the Effectiveness of Social Work Services

Bradley Buell, Director, Community Research Associates, Inc., New York City

2:00 P.M.-3:30 P.M.

Committee on Financing of Social Welfare Services. Employee Giving for Health and Welfare Services

George W. Rabinoff, Assistant Director, National Social Welfare Assembly, New York City, presiding

Labor's Role in Financing Voluntary Social Work

Reg Kennedy, American Federation of Labor, New York City

Julius F. Rothman, National CIO Community Services Committee, New York City

Open discussion

Committee on Methods of Social Action

GROUP MEETING 1. A NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH AND GOVERNMENT PROJECT

Discussion leader: Louis H. Blumenthal, Executive Director, Jewish Community Center, San Francisco

Discussants:

Lucy P. Carner, Executive Secretary, Division on Education and Recreation, Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago, Chicago
Harold Griffin, Program Director, Abraham Lincoln Centre, Chicago

GROUP MEETING 2. SOCIAL ACTION FOR CARE OF THE MENTALLY ILL

Discussion leader: Felix Gentile, Executive Director, Big Brothers of America, Philadelphia

Discussants:

Ralph Ormsby, Executive Secretary, Family Service of Philadelphia, Philadelphia

Louise A. Root, Associate Executive, Community Welfare Council of Milwaukee County, Milwaukee

GROUP MEETING 3. SOCIAL AGENCIES, LOYALTY OATHS, AND CIVIL DEFENSE

Discussion leader: Saul Alinsky, Industrial Areas Foundation

Discussants:

Helen M. Harris, Executive Director, United Neighborhood Houses of New York, Inc., New York City

Catherine V. Richards, Adviser on Professional Work, Girl Scouts of United States of America, New York City

Committee on Personnel**GROUP MEETING 1. HOW CAN WE RAISE THE STATUS OF THE SOCIAL WORK PROFESSION?**

Arthur P. Miles, Director, School of Social Work, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis., presiding

Joseph P. Anderson, Executive Secretary, American Association of Social Workers, New York City, speaker

Open discussion**GROUP MEETING 2. REGULATION OF SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE**

Roger Cumming, Chief, Social Service Division, Veterans Administration, Washington, D.C., presiding

Regulation of Social Work Practice—the Protection of the Public through Licensing Social Workers

R. E. Arne, Executive Secretary, Board of Social Work Examiners, Department of Professional and Vocational Standards, State of California, San Francisco

Open discussion

4:00 P.M.—5:30 P.M.

National Conference of Social Work. Annual Meeting of Members
Lester B. Granger, President, National Conference of Social Work, presiding

8:30 P.M.

General Session. Community Cooperation for the Community's Welfare

Lester B. Granger, President, National Conference of Social Work; Executive Director, National Urban League, New York City, presiding

Louis Seltzer, Editor, *Cleveland Press*, speaker

THURSDAY, MAY 29

9:15 A.M.-10:45 A.M.

Combined Associate Group Meeting. New Developments in Services for the Aged

Geneva Mathiasen, Secretary, National Committee on the Aging, National Social Welfare Assembly, New York City, presiding

1. Private Family Agency Project

Eleanor H. Burks, Supervisor, Services to Older Persons, Family and Children's Service, Minneapolis

2. Employment Efforts

C. Virgil Martin, General Superintendent and Vice President, Carson, Pirie, Scott & Company, Chicago

3. Medical Program in a Home for the Aged

Edward Schultz, President, the Montefiore Home, Cleveland

4. Social Recreation Program

Donald B. Dyer, Assistant Superintendent in Charge of Recreation and Adult Education, Milwaukee Public Schools, Milwaukee

Open discussion

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Problem Clinic on Personnel Policies and Practices in Social Work

Panel chairman: Norman Durfee, National Director for Personnel Services, American National Red Cross, Washington, D.C.

Panel participants:

Norman Durfee, National Director for Personnel Services, American National Red Cross, Washington, D.C.

Joseph P. Anderson, Executive Director, American Association of Social Workers, New York City

John Kidneigh, Director, School of Social Work, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis

Kent F. Bradbury, Director, State Merit System Services, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C.

Combined Associate Group Meeting. The Social Work Stake in Public Welfare

Morris Zelditch, Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, New York City, presiding

Discussion leader: Leonard W. Mayo, Director, Association for Aid of Crippled Children, New York City, speaker

Panel discussion. Panel members:

Loula Dunn, Director, American Public Welfare Association

Gordon Berg, Health and Welfare Consultant, Community Chests and Councils of America, New York

James Scull, Public Relations Director, Family Service Association of America, New York City

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Casework Needs of Families Affected by Defense Mobilization

Dean Snyder, Chief, Defense-Community Services, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C., presiding

The Nature and Kind of Pressures Created or Intensified by Mobilization

Harriet King, West Coast Field Consultant, National Travelers Aid Association, New York City

1. As They Affect the Serviceman

Ralph G. Philip, Assistant National Director, Service at Military Installations, American National Red Cross, Washington, D.C.

2. As They Affect the Family

Louetta V. Berger, District Secretary, Family Service Society of St. Louis County, Kirkwood, Mo.

3. As They Affect Children

Mary K. Keeley, Director of Field Service, Child Welfare League of America, New York City

11:15 A.M.-12:45 P.M.

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Effective Development of International Social Welfare Programs to Improve the Conditions of Living

James J. Burr, Insular and Foreign Operations, American National Red Cross, Washington, D.C., presiding

1. Effective Development in International Social Welfare Programs to Improve the Conditions of Living from the point of view of voluntary agencies engaged in such programs

James T. Nicholson, Chairman, Committee on International Social Welfare, National Social Welfare Assembly; Executive Vice President, American National Red Cross, Washington, D.C.

2. Major Problems in the Effective Development of International Programs of Social Welfare to Improve the Conditions of Living from the Public Point of View

The Hon. Isador Lubin, Sr., United States Representative, Economic

and Social Council of the United Nations, Department of State, Washington, D.C.

Open discussion

Combined Associate Group Meeting. An Examination of Social Work Methods and Goals in Public Recreation

Public Recreation Today

Ernest E. Goranson, Wisconsin Department of Public Welfare

Open discussion

Combined Associate Group Meeting. The Local Community in Financing of National Programs

Arnold Gurin, Director, Budget Research Department, Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, New York City, presiding
Leonard W. Mayo, Director, Association for the Aid of Crippled Children, New York City

Open discussion

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Values in Short-contact Casework

Ethel Ginsburg, Assistant to the Medical Director, National Association for Mental Health, New York City, presiding

Ruth Chaskel, Associate Supervisor, Family Service Division, Brooklyn Bureau of Social Service and Children's Aid Society, Brooklyn, N.Y.

Discussants:

Ernest Witte, Division of Technical Training, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C.

Mary L. Hemmy, Director, Social Service Department, Washington University Clinics and Allied Hospitals, St. Louis

Open discussion

FRIDAY, MAY 30

9:15 A.M.-10:45 A.M.

Section I—Services to Individuals and Families

GROUP MEETING 1. BASIC PRINCIPLES OF SUPERVISION

Mary C. Hester, Associate Professor of Social Work, George Warren Brown School of Social Work, Washington University, St. Louis, presiding

Lucille Nickel Austin, Professor of Social Work, New York School of Social Work, Columbia University, New York City

Discussants:

Deborah S. Portnoy, District Supervisor, Family and Children's Service, St. Louis

Florence F. Johnson, Assistant Supervisor, Family and Children's Service, St. Louis
Open discussion

GROUP MEETING 2. DIFFERENTIAL DIAGNOSIS IN PLANNING PLACEMENTS FOR CHILDREN

Margaret Brevoort, Executive Secretary, Milwaukee Psychiatric Services, Milwaukee, presiding

Draza Kline, Director, Foster Care Division, Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society, Chicago

Discussant:

Jeanette Hanford, Assistant General Superintendent, United Charities of Chicago, Chicago

GROUP MEETING 3. ECONOMICS AND THE QUALITY OF FAMILY LIVING

Helen R. Wright, Dean, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago, presiding

Irma Rittenhouse, Principal Economist, New York State Department of Labor, New York City

Open discussion

GROUP MEETING 4. CASEWORK SEEN THROUGH EUROPEAN EYES

Florence R. Day, Director, Smith College School for Social Work, Northampton, Mass., presiding

Marguerite Pohek, Special Consultant, Social Affairs, Bureau of Personnel, United Nations, New York City

Discussants:

Dorothy Lally, Technical Assistant to the Commissioner for Social Security, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C.

Margaret E. Hoffman, Associate Professor, School of Social Work, University of Denver, Denver

Open discussion

GROUP MEETING 5. THE SOCIAL WORK STUDENT AND THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

Discussion leader: Maurice F. Connery, Assistant Professor, School of Social Work, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis

Open discussion

Section II. Services to Groups and Individuals in Groups

GROUP MEETING 1. SOCIAL GROUP WORK IN CAMPING

1. Basic Considerations in the Use of Social Group Work in Camping
Paul Simon, Associate Professor, School of Social Work, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

2. Integration of Objectives and Practice in Camping

Olive Crocker, Director, Camp Algonquin, United Charities of Chicago, Chicago

Open discussion

GROUP MEETING 2. BUILDING A TOTAL COMMUNITY RECREATION PROGRAM

Alan Klein, Professor of Social Work, School of Social Work, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario, presiding

1. The Role and Responsibility of Voluntary Agencies

Hollis Vick, Secretary, Group Work and Recreation Division, United Community Services of Metropolitan Detroit, Detroit

2. The Role and Responsibility of Public Agencies

Donald B. Dyer, Director of Recreation, Board of Education, Milwaukee

Open discussion

GROUP MEETING 3. THE SPECIAL CONTRIBUTION OF THERAPEUTIC GROUP WORK IN A MEDICAL AND PSYCHIATRIC SETTING

Elizabeth P. Rice, Assistant Professor of Medical Social Work, School of Public Health, Harvard University, Boston, presiding
Marian Sloan, Social Group Worker, Cleveland V. A. Hospital, Cleveland, speaker

Constance Impallaria, Assistant Professor, School of Applied Social Science, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, speaker

Open discussion

GROUP MEETING 4. GROUP EXPERIENCE IN RURAL SETTINGS

Panel chairwoman: Juanita Mariella Luck, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis

1. Group Life in Rural Communities

Robert C. Clark, State Club Leader, Cooperative Extension Work in Agriculture and Home Economics, Extension Service, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

2. Implications for Social Workers

John Kidneigh, Director, School of Social Work, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis

Discussion by two youth participants in an organized rural program

Open discussion

GROUP MEETING 5. MEASUREMENT AND EVALUATION OF GROUP WORK PRACTICE

Nathan E. Cohen, Professor of Social Work, New York School of Social Work, Columbia University, New York City, presiding

Gertrude Wilson, Professor of Social Welfare, School of Social Welfare, University of California, Berkeley

Open discussion

*Section III. Services to Agencies and Communities***GROUP MEETING 1. CLARIFYING THE IDENTITY OF SOCIAL WORK**

Faber Stevenson, Executive Director, Community Chest and Planning Council, Utica, N.Y., presiding

1. Characteristics of Social Work as Seen by Working People
Kenneth L. Kramer, Director, Insurance and Health Department, Textile Workers Union of America, CIO, New York City
2. Social Work Characteristics of Special Importance in Public Relations
Mary Fry, Associate Director, Public Relations, United Defense Fund, New York City

Reactor:

Frances Schmidt, Public Relations Consultant, National Conference of Social Work, Columbus, Ohio

Open discussion

GROUP MEETING 2. THE FUNCTION OF THE NATIONAL AGENCY IN LOCAL COMMUNITY PLANNING

Linn Brandenburg, Associate Executive Director, Community Fund of Chicago, Inc., Chicago, presiding

1. Strengths and Weaknesses of Local Planning as Seen by a National Agency Representative
Robert E. Bondy, Director, National Social Welfare Assembly, Inc., New York City
2. Strengths and Weaknesses of National Agency Services in Relation to Local Planning as Seen by a Local Agency Representative
John D. Wellman, Executive Director, Community Welfare Council of Milwaukee, Milwaukee

Open discussion

GROUP MEETING 3. THE RELATIONSHIP OF HEALTH AND WELFARE PLANNING TO OTHER PLANNING FUNCTIONS IN THE COMMUNITY

Nelson Foote, Director, Family Study Center, University of Chicago, Chicago, presiding

1. The Relationship as Seen by a "Social Planner"
Willis Atwell, Executive Secretary, Grand Rapids Council of Social Agencies and Executive Secretary, Grand Rapids Development Council, Grand Rapids, Mich.
2. The Relationship as Seen by a "Physical Planner"
Dennis O'Harrow, Assistant Director, American Society of Planning Officials, Chicago

Open discussion

GROUP MEETING 4. EFFECTS OF THE DEFENSE EMERGENCY ON HEALTH AND WELFARE SERVICES

Arch Mandel, Field Director, Community Chests and Councils of America, New York City, presiding

John H. Moore, Executive Director, United Community Defense Services, New York City

Discussants:

Claude M. Scott, Associate Director, Wichita Community Chest, Wichita, Kans.

Robert S. Wilson, Director, Services to the Armed Forces, American National Red Cross, Washington, D.C.

Dean Snyder, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C.

Open discussion

GROUP MEETING 5. THE EVOLVING FIELD OF COMMUNITY RELATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

Alexander J. Allen, Executive Director, Urban League of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, presiding

Martin Loeb, Director, Cooperation Community Research Center, University of Chicago, Chicago

Discussants:

1. From the Point of View of Government Agencies

George Schermer, Director, Mayor's Inter-Racial Committee of Detroit, Detroit

2. From the Point of View of Education

Dan W. Dodson, Director of Curriculum and Research, Center for Human Relation Studies, New York University, New York City

3. From the Point of View of Social Work

Wilbur I. Newstetter, Dean, School of Social Work, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh

Open discussion

11:15 A.M.-12:45 P.M.

General Session. Strengthening Freedom and Well-Being Throughout the World

Lester B. Granger, President, National Conference of Social Work; Executive Director, National Urban League, New York City, presiding

Building the Economic Base for Better Living throughout the World

Nelson Rockefeller, President, International Basic Economy Corporation; President, American International Association for Economic and Social Development, New York City

Appendix B: Business Organization of the Conference for 1952

OFFICERS

President: Lester B. Granger, New York
First Vice President: Helen R. Wright, Chicago
Second Vice President: Ruth Taylor, Hartsdale, N.Y.
Third Vice President: Margaret Yates, Dallas, Texas
Secretary: Lucy P. Carner, Chicago
Treasurer: Arch Mandel, New York
Executive Secretary: Joe R. Hoffer, Columbus, Ohio

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Ex-officio: Lester B. Granger, President; Helen R. Wright, First Vice President; Ruth Taylor, Second Vice President; Margaret Yates, Third Vice President; Lucy P. Carner, Secretary; Arch Mandel, Treasurer; Joe R. Hoffer, Executive Secretary

Term expiring 1952: Robert E. Bondy, New York; Lt. Col. Elwood Camp, Denver; Ewan Clague, Washington, D.C.; George F. Davidson, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada; Leonard W. Mayo, New York; Phyllis Osborn, Chicago; Florence Sytz, New Orleans; Benjamin E. Youngdahl, St. Louis

Term expiring 1953: M. Leo Bohanon, St. Louis; Eleanor Cockerill, Pittsburgh; Frank Hertel, New York; Clara A. Kaiser, New York; Robert MacRae, Chicago; Henry L. Zucker, Cleveland

Term expiring 1954: Leona Baumgartner, New York; Albert Deutsch, Washington, D.C.; Elizabeth Ross, Washington, D.C.; William D. Schmidt, Cleveland; Violet Sieder, New York; Emil M. Sunley, Denver; Ellen Winston, Raleigh, N.C.

CONFERENCE COMMITTEES

COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS

Chairman: Jeanette Hanford, Chicago

Term expiring 1952: Irene Farnham Conrad, New York; Leah Feder, Anaheim, Calif.; Jeanette Hanford, Chicago; Fred K. Hoehler, Chicago; Bertha B. Howell, Oakland, Calif.; Walter W. Whitson, Houston, Texas

Term expiring 1953: Caroline H. Elledge, Denver; Walter B. John-

son, Indianapolis; Peter Kasius, New York; Inabel Burns Lindsay, Washington, D.C.; Ann Elizabeth Neely, New York; Olive M. Stone, Los Angeles

Term expiring 1954: Runo E. Arne, San Francisco; Gladys Hall, Athens, Greece; Nelson C. Jackson, Atlanta, Ga.; Esther Lazarus, Baltimore; Ella W. Reed, Cincinnati; Margaret Rich, New York; Alice Taylor, Washington, D.C.

COMMITTEE ON PROGRAM

Ex-officio: Lester B. Granger, New York; Ewan Clague, Washington, D.C.; Joe R. Hoffer, Columbus, Ohio

Term expiring 1952: Lillie H. Nairne, New Orleans; Franklin McKeever, Dayton, Ohio

Term expiring 1953: Mrs. George H. Abbott, Dallas, Texas; Margaret Hickey, St. Louis

Term expiring 1954: Melvin A. Glasser, Washington, D.C.; Mrs. C. H. L. Pennock, Poughkeepsie, N.Y.

ORGANIZATION OF SECTIONS AND COMMITTEES

SECTION I. SERVICES TO INDIVIDUALS AND FAMILIES

Chairman: Florence R. Day, Northampton, Mass.

Vice Chairman: Annie Lee Davis, Washington, D.C.

Term expiring 1952: Eileen Blackey, Washington, D.C.; John Dula, New York; H. M. Margolis, M.D., Pittsburgh; Fredericka Neumann, New York; Phyllis Osborn, Chicago; Doris Siegel, Washington, D.C.

Term expiring 1953: Dorothy L. Baker, New Haven, Conn.; Eva Burmeister, Milwaukee, Wis.; Hyman S. Lippman, St. Paul, Minn.

Term expiring 1954: Helvi Boothe, Topeka, Kans.; David Hunter, New York; Jean Kallenberg, New York; *Associate Group Liaison Representative,* Spencer Crookes, New York

SECTION II. SERVICES TO GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS IN GROUPS

Chairman: Nathan Cohen, New York

Vice Chairman: Juanita Luck, Houston, Texas

Term expiring 1952: Homer C. Bishop, St. Louis; Jean M. Maxwell, New York; Paul Simon, Urbana, Ill.

Term expiring 1953: Miriam Rosenbloom Cohn, St. Paul, Minn.; Mary I. Madsen, Cleveland; Hazel M. Osborne, Pittsburgh

Term expiring 1954: Margaret Robertson Alpert, Chicago; Constance Impallaria, Cleveland; Violet Tennant, Indianapolis; *Associate Group Liaison Representative,* Beatrix A. Park, New York

SECTION III. SERVICES TO AGENCIES AND COMMUNITIES

Chairman: Sanford Solender, New York*Vice Chairman:* Sydney B. Markey, Philadelphia*Term expiring 1952:* Robert E. Bondy, New York; Loula Dunn, Chicago; Melvin Glasser, Washington, D.C.; Robert MacRae, Chicago; Herbert Millman, New York; Edna Nicholson, Chicago*Term expiring 1953:* Alexander J. Allen, Pittsburgh; Myron Falk, Baton Rouge, La.; C. Whit Pfeiffer, Los Angeles*Term expiring 1954:* Chester Bower, Houston, Texas; Arthur H. Kruse, Washington, D.C.; Florence Ray, Cleveland; *Associate Group Liaison Representative*, Reginald Johnson, New York

COMMITTEE ON FINANCING OF SOCIAL WELFARE SERVICES

Chairman: Shelby Harrison, New York*Vice Chairman:* Frank K. Loomis, Chicago*Term expiring 1952:* Robert W. Beasley, Washington, D.C.; Mrs. Linn Brandenburg, Chicago; Lt. Col. Chester R. Brown, New York; F. E. Andrews, New York*Term expiring 1953:* Charles J. Birt, St. Paul, Minn.; E. S. Osborn, San Francisco; Herbert H. Rummel, New York*Term expiring 1954:* Maurice O. Hunt, Indianapolis; M. R. Runyon, New York; L. L. Taylor, Canton, Ohio; *Associate Group Liaison Representative*, George Rabinoff, New York

COMMITTEE ON METHODS OF SOCIAL ACTION

Chairman: Max Silverstein, Philadelphia*Vice Chairman:* Frank W. Baldauf, Cleveland*Term expiring 1952:* Felix Gentile, Philadelphia; Robert L. Kinney, New York; Catherine Richards, Detroit*Term expiring 1953:* Louis H. Blumenthal, San Francisco; Harold Lett, Newark, N.J.; Lester L. Scheaffer, Minneapolis*Term expiring 1954:* Mrs. Oswald Lord, New York; Jerry Voorhis, Chicago; Beulah T. Whitby, Detroit; *Associate Group Liaison Representative*, Earl Parker, New York

COMMITTEE ON PERSONNEL

Chairman: John C. Kidneigh, Minneapolis*Vice Chairman:* Hannah G. Brody, Philadelphia*Term expiring 1952:* A. R. Albouze, Sacramento, Calif.; Elizabeth Cosgrove, Washington, D.C.; Howard Gibbs, New York*Term expiring 1953:* Norman A. Durfee, Washington, D.C.; Bertram Gold, Newark, N.J.; C. F. McNeil, Columbus, Ohio*Term expiring 1954:* Margaret Murray, Los Angeles; Mrs. Hale Praghoff, Chicago; William P. Sailer, Philadelphia; *Associate Group Liaison Representative*, Norma Sims, New York

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